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ART. I.—THE GREAT ANARCHY.

Stories of the Adventurers in Native Service, in India, during the latter half of the 18th Century.

(Continued from No. 216—April 1899.)

CHAPTER VI.

WE have seen, in observing the military career of General de Boigne, how the secular contest between cavalry and infantry developed in India, where the mediæval idea of warfare lingered after they had been dispelled in more progressive regions. The tactics which had been originated in Europe by Edward III, proceeded on the experience which showed that a man is a better fighter than a horse. If a staff of spikes holds firm, and is supported by a continuous discharge of missiles, the horse will not charge home, let the courage of the rider be ever so high. But, to produce these conditions in the infantry, the foot soldiers must be self-respecting men, thoroughly well-disciplined and commanded. We have seen what, in the opinion of contemporaneous journalists, had been the moral evolution of the Indian soldier in the New Model; it is therefore proper that we should now endeavour to learn something of the subordinate officers by whose help that result had been obtained. In this attempt we are fortunately commanded the aid of a competent writer who was himself a member of the force. In treating of General de Boigne, the testimony of a newspaper correspondent who used the signature of "Longinus" was cited above; the true designation of whom was Louis Ferdinand Smith, Major in the army of Sindhia.

The account of some of the more remarkable of these officers of fortune published by Major Smith was brought out by subscription in Calcutta, without any date upon the title-page, but apparently about the year 1804, and subsequently reprinted in London. Many of the names on the subscription list are those of men who afterwards found honourable mention in Anglo-Indian history; among them being those of Sir John

Anstruther—the then Chief Justice—; of Sir George Barlow—afterwards Governor of Madras—; of Becher, Boileau, Colvin—familiar as founders of well-known Indian clans—; of others of like type; of General Ochterlony, and of the Marquess Wellesley, who at that time ruled the Indian Empire as then constituted. The little work has only some ninety pages; but it is a workmanlike piece, illustrated with well-drawn plans of battles; and it bears the title—"A Sketch of the rise, progress, and termination of the Regular Corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the service of the Native Princes of India." It is to the information which it gives that we shall be indebted for almost all that we can learn upon the subject, in the way of biographic fact, in this Chapter.

Most of the officers referred to were Frenchmen who had originally come out to Pondichery with Lally and been left to seek their fortune after the collapse of the French enterprise in 1760. Of such were Médoc (of whom some account has been given already) as also Martin, Sombre, St. Frais; probably Du Dreuec, and Perion; certainly Lang. What was to be said of these also has been said; excepting Perion and Du Dreuec. At a later date appeared the Hessians—Hollanders; the Filoses—Neapolitans; and, of Britons and Anglo-Indians, the Skinners, Gardner, Shepherd, Sutherland, Davies, Dodd, Vickers, Bellasis and the brothers Smith. Most of these were, sooner or later, in Sindhia's service; but the greatest of all, George Thomas, fought for his own hand, like Hal of the Wynd, and his exploits are accordingly recorded separately here.

Of the Chevalier du Dreuec there is not very much to note; his very name is uncertain, one calling him Dundernek, another Dodernaigue, according to phonetic interpretation of native usage. He seems to have belonged to an ancient Breton family—now extinct—known in provincial history as "Du Dreuec-Keroulas;" he did not enter life in the army, but came to India as *Enseigne-de-vaisseau* (Midshipman) about 1777. French power and influence in the Indian seas were at their lowest at that moment; when the Treaty of Paris (1763) had indeed, "restored Pondichery to France, but it was a Pondichery dismantled, beggared, bereft of all her influence. During the fifteen years which followed. . . . Pondichery had been forced to remain a powerless spectator of her rival on Indian soil."† Not finding encouragement in so depressed a service, the young sailor quitted his ship and made his way up the country where he joined his countryman, Medoc, and

* For a brief notice of these men about 1764, see Broome's *Bengal Army* p. 419.

† Malleison's *Final French Struggles*. pp. 3-4.

they both engaged in the imperial service under Mirza Najaf. On the departure of Médoc, the Chevalier also vanished from the scene in Hindustan; whether in a return to Europe or in wanderings about India, we have no information. At length, in 1791, we hear of him as retained to raise a body of foot, by Tukaji Holkar, then engaged in an attempt to emulate the success of Madhaji Sindhia. The force of Du Drenec consisted of four battalions; but before it had been completely trained, it was unfortunate enough to encounter a strong detachment under General de Boigne in person. Almost everything was against the young legion; the fame and prestige of the enemy's leader, their own inexperience, and the smallness of their numbers. But Holkar had political reasons for desiring to invade the territories of his rival. In 1792, Sindhia set out on his last journey to Farnavis, engaged in a struggle for favour with the Emperor. He had sent for strengthening his local army by the aid of the French, but the moment seemed to Holkar full for a bold stroke. Beg from his temporary retirement, he led his army into northern Malwa; the new legion was sent to meet him, acting as the nucleus of the force.

The first counter-stroke was delivered at Kanaund, in the northern part of the province, near the frontier between the capital and the territories of the Marathas. The client of Mirza Najaf, who had been converted to the Mahomedan faith, had just died in a stronghold of earth faced with stone, among sandhills and low growths of tamarisks, where his widow—a sister of the late Ghulam Kadir—continued to reside. Ismail Beg—who was an old ally of the family—flew to the aid of his deceased friend's sister; and a column under Colonel Perron marched to besiege the place. Some account of the siege will be found in the story of Perron, later on; at present we have only to notice that Holkar's army advanced at its best pace in the hope of relieving Kanaund and raising the siege. De Boigne, bent on frustrating this design, came against them; and the two forces met in September, 1792, at Lakhairi on the road leading from Ajmere. The Mahrattas were posted on ground well-chosen: the guns and infantry being on the crest of a pass; a marsh covered the front, the sides being flanked by deep jungle and trees, and protected by no less than 30,000 Mahratta horsemen. The action that ensued was considered by Boigne the severest in which he was ever engaged. As he led up his battalions, he was exposed to a terrific fire from Holkar's batteries; and his own guns, on the support of which he had relied, met with unexpected misfortune; the marsh impeded

their progress ; and, as they advanced slowly under the enemy's fire, they became rapidly disabled. First, a tumbril was hit by a hostile ball and exploded ; this explosion communicated itself to the next carriage ; in a short time a dozen ammunition-wagons were on fire, scattering around the whole of their contents. With rapid instinct Holkar caught the flying instant, and sought to charge the guns, by extricating his squadrons from the protection of the jungle. But even in that terrible crisis the influence of discipline prevailed ; the seasoned battalions of the enemy breasted the hill in face of all obstacles, firing from flank and rear at the encumbered cavalry. Mahratta horsemen were always better at scouting than in a pitched battle ; Ismail, with his men-at-arms, might have led an effectual charge ; but Ismail was engaged elsewhere. As the British army, under the fire of Boigne's guns, was being charged by the Moghul cavalry, few in order of equipment and weight : the whole force was quickly dispersed. Delivered from these dangers, the British army resumed its advance up the pass, held tenaciously by the Mahratta and battalion of Du Drenec ; raw levies as they were, they did not stand against the European officers fell about them with the most rapidity. Their leader—the men were shot or cut down—thirty-eight guns were captured. The first encounter between two bodies imbued with the discipline of the British had been turned by the superior skill of Holkar's horsemen, by Du Drenec had covered him of the Mahratta horsemen, who were invincible in such fields.

Escaping from the dangers which ceased on the cessation of resistance, our adventurer did nothing more for some time, beyond taking part in the campaign in the Deccan which ended with the battle of Kardla (1795). As we have no particulars of his conduct on that occasion, the description may be postponed till we come to notice the career of Raymond, who commanded on the side of the Nizam. The next time of meeting the Chevalier is in 1799, when he was on the winning side at the battle of Sangarir, though temporarily involved in a catastrophe that—as at Lakhairi—left him almost sole survivor of his force. This was the last (or almost the last) of the fights between the princes of Rajputan and the head of the house of Sindhia—once quieted by Boigne, as we have seen. That able officer was now in retirement—we have noted the new Sindhia's letter vainly attempting his recall. The chief command in Hindustan had devolved on a native General called Lakwa Dada ; the Chief being away at Poona, and Jaipore joined to Jodhpore in a renewed rebellion. So formidable appeared this outbreak that Ambaji Ainglia was deputed to the Dada's aid, taking with him a strong brigade of disciplined foot commanded by Du Drenec :

the whole force consisted of six brigades of infantry with the due artillery, 20,000 Mahratta horsemen, and a motley contingent of irregular spearmen on foot. On the Rajpoot side was an infantry far inferior; but there was also a noble force of 50,000 heavy cavalry, the fighting Rathors of Marwar of whom we have already heard. Sanganir, where the encounter took place, is the name of a small place situated on the sandy plain west of Jaipur city; and here the troops of Sindhia attacked the Rajputs one March morning in 1799. But the Rathor horsemen were on the alert; and, under command of Siwai Singh—a henchman of the Jodhpore Raja—, charged furiously down on the intruders, the brigade of Du Drenec, who had endeavoured to surprise their morning slumbers. The scene of Mirta was now reproduced, with very important variations. More than 10,000 in number, the Rathor cavaliers trotted their horses out of the lines, while the battle began to rage in other quarters. Du Drenec prepared to receive the charges, with squares formed and field-pieces belching grape from the intervals. But the Rathors would take no denial, the trot became a gallop as they drew near, and the noise of their onward rush was heard—says an eye-witness—above all the roar of the battle. Regardless of the grape-shot, riding over fifteen hundred of their own front ranks laid low by the fire of Du Drenec's infantry and field-pieces, they pressed on with increased momentum. Neither the fire of the grape-loaded cannon nor the glitter of the bristling bayonets availed to check the charge. Like a storm-wave it passed over the brigade, leaving scarcely a vestige of life in its track. Du Drenec was flung under a gun-carriage; almost all his Europeans lost their lives on the spot. Nevertheless the day of heavy cavalry had departed; science and discipline asserted themselves in spite of headlong valour; the Rajpoots were finally put to flight with almost incredible carnage; that single action decided the campaign.*

Du Drenec—perhaps in consequence of these defeats—left the service of Holkar and joined Perron at Aligarh, where his house is still in existence and serves as the Court House of the District Judge. In September, 1803, (when Lake advanced from Cawnpore) Du Drenec was absent, having been posted at Poona, in command of 5,000 men. Ordered to Hindustan, he started to obey; but by the time of his arrival at Muttra he heard of the fall of Aligarh and Delhi, and of the march on Agra; while he found his troops suspicious of their European officers. In these trying circumstances the Chevalier adopted the wisest course open to him, surrendering to Colonel Vandeleur, of the 8th Dragoons, in company with Major Smith—

* This account is condensed from that given by Colonel Skinner, C.B., who was present with Sindhia's army.

our author—and another white officer. The British authorities gladly permitted them to go into private life, with all that belonged to them ; Du Drenec seems to have settled in the country ; for Smith (in the book referred to) mentions him^{as} having been thirty years in India and being still there while he, Smith, was writing.

In the battle of Kardla—to be noted presently—, where the power of the Deccan Moghuls was temporarily broken by their Mahratta neighbours—, the victorious side, on which Du Drenec fought, was opposed by an equally brave and more distinguished French officer. Although the Nizam's Regulars were unable to achieve success, the fault was by no means theirs ; and their commander was a meritorious man, said to be still commemorated by the natives of those regions.

In what line of life Michel Raymond was bred is not recorded ; but he was a native of France and came out to Pondicheri in a mercantile firm. In 1778 Great Britain declared war with the French Government who were openly abetting the revolted Colonies in North America. On receipt of the news the authorities of Fort St. George sent a force to besiege Pondicheri, which capitulated after a respectable defence ; and Raymond (with a nephew of Count Lally, and other adventurous men) repaired to Mysore, where he enrolled himself in the service of Haider Ali, the usurper of that State, and irreconcilable enemy of the British. In 1783 the famous Patissier, known in Indian history as "Marquis de Bussy-Castelnau," had returned, under orders from Louis XVI., to the country where he had won so much distinction twenty years before ; and he was now, with shattered health and a mind enfeebled by years and slothful living, engaged in a hopeless contest with Sir Eyre Coote, Raymond's old employer, Haider, having just died, the French adventurer was free to accept a post on Bussy's staff ; and, on Bussy's death, two years latter, Raymond betook himself to the capital of the Nizam, where he obtained a high command. Up to this time Raymond had won no great distinction as a soldier ; but he had temper, character and talent, all of which had become known and raised him to a similar position at Haiderabad to that which Boigne was soon to create for himself in the North. He gradually got together a respectable force of 15,000 regular infantry, with no less than 124 superior officers, all of European blood.

To mature this force was the work of seven or eight years, during which Raymond worked with very great success. At length, on the 10th of March, 1895, he marched from Bidar, with the army of the Nizam, mustering 70,000 irregular infantry, supported by 20,000 horsemen and a due proportion of artillery, under command of French officers. To meet this invasion the

Peshwa had assembled a force estimated at 100,000 of all arms, including ten of Sindhia's trained battalions under Perron, four under Du Drenec, contributed by Holkar, with other similar contingents commanded, respectively, by Hessing, Filose, and Boyd, of all of whom we shall presently have a word or two to say. The armies were thus equally matched in all respects; nearly equal in numbers and organisation; each animated by the presence of good European officers. The encounter occurred at a place two marches to the South-West of Poona, which city would be at the mercy of the Moghuls if they could prevail over the Mahratta army. This latter was encamped on the slopes of the Purindha pass; the artillery being skilfully disposed on the heights above. The Moghuls had the disadvantage of having to advance from lower ground, occupying as they did the plain between the pass and the village of Kurdla: nevertheless there was sufficient ground for cavalry, by a bold use of which the Moghuls drove back the Mahratta right: Raymond's battalions on the other side advanced steadily under a heavy fire from Perron's guns; and the fight developed into a duel between the two Frenchmen, one endeavouring to storm the pass, the other determined to defend it. But the Moghul horse had fled in wild confusion under a tempest from the Mahratta rocket-batteries; and the aged Nizam, who—after the Asiatic manner—trusted only to his cavalry, insisted on retreat. Raymond's escort being essential to the safety of the Prince, he was obliged to retire; and the day was lost, although the retirement was effected in good order, and there was no pursuit.

Raymond's next service was in suppressing the rebellion of the Nizam's heir-apparent, Mirza Ali Jah, who seized upon the fortifications of Bidar, and collected a following of disaffected chiefs and disbanded soldiers which Raymond easily dispersed, in the month of June of the same year (1795). From that time he pursued his life of useful and faithful labour until his death, on the 25th of March, 1798, in time to be spared the pain of seeing the abolition of the trained force for which he had done so much. For the times were critical, and Lord Mornington, who had just assumed the office of Governor-General, which he was afterwards to render so illustrious under his later title of "Marquis Wellesley," had a grave combination to encounter. In the Punjab was an invading army of Afghans under Zaman Shah; in Mysore was the valiant Tipu, who had succeeded to the usurped power and to the anti-British policy of his father, Haidar. In Hindustan a French General had taken the place of the friendly Savoyard; in the Deccan an unscrupulous Mahratta traitor held power at Poona, and the Nizam was vacillating at Haidarabad. Tipu was in correspondence with

Somru," was holding the fief that had been allotted to that General for the maintenance of his legion in the imperial service then administered by Sindhia. That remarkable woman was destined to have a considerable influence on the career of Thomas; and no picture of the Anarchy that preceded the British occupation of Hindustan could have any pretence to completeness if it did not contain some notice of her singular fortunes.

Sombre, as we have seen, died at Agra in 1778: he was buried under a masonry canopy which is still to be seen in the Catholic cemetery there, his tomb bearing a Portuguese inscription. He left an insane wife and a son still in early childhood; and his fief was assumed, under an authoritative grant, by a favourite slave-girl, whom he had purchased at Delhi: she is believed to have been born at Kotana in the Meerut District, and to have been of Arab origin.

The new Princess was—in any case—of Moslem birth, but apparently found it convenient to conform to the creed of her protector, three years after whose death she was baptized along with her stepson (7th May, 1781). She then settled with her brigade at Sardhana, a village near Meerut; and it was there that Thomas entered the service, in which he soon attained great distinction. In the spring of the terrible year 1788—famous for the temporary triumph of Ismail Beg and Gholam Kadir Khan with the horrors which ensued—the Emperor Shah Alam undertook a futile expedition into the country between Delhi and Ajmere. Thomas accompanied, in command of the Sardhana contingent: and the Begum joined personally in the expedition. On the 5th of April the army halted to besiege Gokalgurh, in what is now the District of Gurgaon. This was a strong place occupied by the converted Rajpoot, Najaf Kuli, already more than once mentioned; and he had gone into rebellion against the decrepit Government, for which conduct it was desired to bring him to account. On the arrival of the Imperial forces the garrison made an immediate sortie; and the Moghuls, taken by surprise, were thrown into great confusion. The assailants penetrated to the centre of the camps, near where the imperial standard had been erected in front of the tent in which the Emperor was reposing. With rapid resolution the Begum hastened up in her palanquin, attended by Thomas, with three battalions of infantry and a field-piece. Deploying, as best he might, and with his cannon manned by European gunners in the centre, the Irish seaman covered the imperial abode and pelted the rebel horsemen with musketry and grape. Surprised in their turn by so unexpected a reception, the enemy wavered, hung back, and, when a body of Moghul cavalry

had come to the spot, were finally repulsed. The Emperor's person was saved, the defence so boldly begun turned into a rout; the place was carried in the rush of the pursuit, and the credit of the day was justly awarded to the valorous lady. In the Durbar that was held in the afternoon, the Begum was publicly thanked by the Sovereign, and honoured with the title of *zob-un-nissa* ("Glory of the Sex"), which she ever afterward continued to bear, along with that of "*Joanna Nobilis*," bestowed on her by the Church at her baptism.

At this time the Begum was still in the prime of life; and, according to the description given at a later period by Thomas, was distinguished by a plump figure and fair complexion, with large and lively eyes. Though of pure Moslem blood and always dressing in native costume, she had partially adopted European manners, and sate at table unveiled. It was natural that a lady so rich and otherwise gifted should receive admiration from the soldiers-of-fortune by whom she was surrounded, and perhaps be the object of selfish aspiration.

The brigade, at this time, consisted of five battalions, a regiment of Moghul horse, with 40 pieces of artillery; it contained three hundred Europeans of whom the majority were gunners, and the officers not, perhaps, all of much higher social standing.

After the Emperor's return from his abortive campaign—for the capture of Gokalguh was the only success—he returned to Delhi and there underwent the terrible experiences of which mention has been already made. The Begum took her brigade to his help; and once succeeded, for a few weeks, in delivering the poor old man from his tormentors. But when she had departed, Gholam Kadir returned, accompanied by Ismail Beg and a force too strong to be successfully attacked; and the imperial tragedy went forward. For the next four years no Sardhana record is forthcoming; but it is possible that Thomas was a candidate for the lady's favour, though ousted by the superior attractions of a rival. In any case it is certain that in 1792 Thomas left the service, and that the Begum, about that time, bestowed her hand on M. Levassout, a French officer whom she had put at the head of the brigade. She was married by the rites of the Romish Church, unfortunately in a somewhat clandestine manner; but the bridegroom was wise enough to provide two witnesses, countrymen and brother-officers, named Bernier and Saleur.

Thomas, meanwhile, had quitted the Sardhana service, and betaken himself to Anoopshahar, where he became the guest of the officers of a British Frontier Force which was maintained there under a treaty with the Nawab of Oudh, in whose territory it lay. The place is now a decayed town, on the

right bank of the Ganges, which eats it, year by year: but the numerous graves (from which all the memorial tombstones have long since disappeared) are a silent testimony of its former importance.

Settled here, under the protection of Col. MacGowan, the British Brigadier, Thomas lived a pleasant life as long as his savings held out. Then, under the pressure of necessity, he was compelled to look about for means of livelihood. He accordingly took measures to acquaint the neighbouring nobility and gentry that he was prepared to execute orders for rapine and slaughter; and ere long obtained an engagement from a Mahratta chief, one Appa Khandi Rao, who had been in charge of the Gwalior District but whom Sindhia had lately, for some reason or other, seen fit to discharge. This chieftain was now preparing to take part in the game of grab that was already—had he known it—almost on the point of abolition; and he engaged Thomas and his small following, with orders to raise a small body of horse, and one thousand foot, the reversion of certain lands—to be occupied hereafter—being assigned as a material guarantee for the equipment and pay of the little legion. The country thus bestowed was not only not transferable to the possession of the donee, it did not even belong to the donor. It belonged, in a strictly legal sense, to the sovereign—that is to the Emperor at Delhi; in another derivative, but equally lawful, way it belonged to the Alwar Raja, to whom it had been assigned by imperial patent; finally, it was actually in the possession of the Mewati tribe. Of these last the memoir of Thomas only deigns to observe that “when a large force was sent against them, they usually took shelter in the mountains; but, when the force was inferior in numbers, by uniting they proved victorious.” By this unreasonable contumacy the Mewatis of these parts had incurred the displeasure of Appa Khandi; who, conceiving himself entitled to their surplus produce, availed himself of the Irish sailor’s help to bring them to a better frame of mind. Agreeing to balance accounts every six months, and furnished with two guns and a store of ammunition, George departed to kill the bear whose skin had thus been conferred upon him.

While Mr. Thomas (as his biographer is always careful to call him) was thus whiling away the shining hours, his former princess was going through a stimulating experience.

Mention has been made of the rough and lawless character of too many of the late General Sombre’s officers; the greater number of them, indeed, were most illiterate ruffians who bitterly resented the airs and graces of their new master, by whose wish they were excluded from the dinner table of the Begum, and generally kept at a distance. They affected also

to be scandalised at what they perhaps honestly regarded as a mere intrigue *à la Catherine Deux* ; and in all their discontents they were egged on by taunts and promises from a scheming rival. This was Alcysius Balthazar Reinhardt, sort of the deceased General by the Moslem wife, whose crazy brain he would seem to have inherited. This youth had for the last few years been residing at Delhi, wearing native costume, and bearing native titles, being known there as "Nawab Zafaryab Khan, Muzafar-ud-daula." Prominent among the mutinous officers was a Walloon called Liégeois—whether it was a real name or not, some of his descendants continued to bear it down to recent times under the slightly altered form of "Lezwah." This man, in constant communication with young Reinhardt, worked upon the simple minds of the soldiery, till almost all were ready for any act of insubordination.

The occasion was not to be long awaited. In 1794 Thomas had so far effected the conversion of the ill-advised Mewatis as to extort from them an agreement to pay up one year's land-revenue, besides obtaining possession of Tijara and Jhajar, two of their chief places. He was making preparation to attack the neighbouring fort of Bahadurgurh when he was suddenly recalled by the news that Levassault was moving in his rear with the troops of his old employer, the Lady of Sardhana. Unwilling to risk a present and certain defeat if, with his ill-trained and raw levies, he encountered a large and well-disciplined force, Thomas fell back upon Tijara, leaving Levassault to get what he could out of the unfortunate Mewatis. In this place—Tijara—Thomas remained unmolested, until summoned to the relief of his master, Appa Khandi Rao, who was in durance, in his camp, by reason of a mutiny. Hurrying to the spot, the faithful mercenary availed himself of the cover of a dark and rainy night to withdraw the Rao from a disagreeable and dangerous position ; and Thomas escorted him to Kanaund, a strong place, already mentioned, of which we shall hear again later on.

For this piece of service the Rao showed a genuine, but not perhaps very expensive, form of gratitude, adopting Thomas as a son, and endowing him with valuable estates—belonging, doubtless, to other people, but not the less generously offered. About the same time the agents of Sindhia at Delhi gave Thomas the first of several invitations to enter the imperial service ; invitations which the Irishman was always too independent to accept, and of which the refusal ultimately caused his ruin.

Meanwhile Levassault had made a direct attack upon Jhajar, named above as the second of the towns held by Thomas

in the Mewati country; but, while the latter was doing his best to meet the storm, it was rolled back by a sudden outburst elsewhere. Liégeois had at length succeeded in seducing from their allegiance the troops left in cantonments at Sardhana; and now Levassoult had to hurry home to protect his wife, who was threatened with violence there. In May, 1795, Liégeois repaired to Delhi, and there placed before Aloysius Reinhardt an agreement by which—with signs and crosses in lieu of signatures—his unlettered associates had bound themselves, in the name of the Holy Trinity, to do as Aloysius might command. As soon as the Begum and her husband had wind of what was doing, they appealed to the British Governor-General for advice and assistance; and received for answer permission to repair to Anoopshahar, on the other side of the Duab, and put themselves under the protection of Brigadier MacGowan.

In these anxieties the hot summer months passed, until the threatened couple had completed arrangements for escape from their perils. Having obtained the necessary authority from the Governor-General and from Sindhia, they departed from Sardhana in the dawn of an October morning; the Begum in her palanquin, and Levassoult on horseback; they also carried with them portable property and specie which conduced to the frustration of the whole plan. Scarcely had they advanced three miles upon the way to Meerut when they saw dust-clouds rising behind them and guessed that their flight had been discovered and that they were followed by pursuers eager for the spoil. They therefore parted, with an agreement that if either should be slain, the other would not survive. Levassoult led the way, urging the graning bearers of the treasure-chests to hurry on; but the pursuers came on fast; the litter was arrested; and the Begum, in sudden impulse, stabbed herself with a dagger. An attendant ran forward screaming and waving a bloodstained kerchief torn from the neck of her mistress; at sight of which Levassoult put a pistol to his head, drew the trigger, and fell lifeless from his saddle. The rebels turned back with the plunder, carrying the widowed Princess with them; her stiletto had not touched a vital part, and she soon recovered: but it was to find herself the prisoner of her abandoned stepson. Aloysius assumed the command, plunging forthwith into the frantic debauchery in which he and his ruffianly companions found their ideal of bliss; while the wounded Begum lay in the courtyard, tied to a gun, and only kept alive by the ministrations of a faithful Aya.

We have mentioned that a French officer named Saleur had been a friend of the deceased M. Levassoult and a witness of

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the too private marriage. This man, who had held aloof from the proceedings of his fellows, now bethought him of the ill-used Irishman ; and, by a lucky chance, Thomas, in pursuit of his own plans, had moved his camp to no great distance. Saleur therefore sent him a report of what had happened, with a prayer for help. The gallant seaman, without a moment's delay, replied with a strong written remonstrance to his former comrades, pointing out that if they persisted in their present conduct, or presumed to injure the Begum, Sindhia would certainly disband the brigade and probably put them all to the sword. Swiftly following his message, he appeared at Sardhana, at the head of his *Khas Risala*, or mounted body-guard. The mutinous officers, ashamed of their late orgy and already weary of their new commander, alarmed by the reasonings of Thomas and swayed by a handsome *douceur* out of his generous munificence, returned to their allegiance. Aloysius was made prisoner and sent back to Delhi ; and the restored Begum—though she never repaid the £20,000 which Thomas had expended on her liberation—never again gave way to the temptations of Hymen. Saleur in future commanded the brigade.

This romantic history rests on the evidence of James Skinner—of whom more anon—and exhibits our Tipperary mariner in a most favouring light, showing how gallant he was, how prompt and prodigal of purse and person. Meanwhile, Appa Khandi Rao had become hostile, whether from native fickleness or prompted by jealous rivals of the foreign employée ; and the position of the latter might have become one of much anxiety had not his adoptive father suddenly lost his reason and committed suicide by drowning himself in the river Jumna.

Thomas at that moment was engaged in an expedition against the Sikhs, whom he ultimately drove beyond that river ; and the power and property of the deceased Rao were, in his absence, assumed by the chief's nephew. It may be doubted how far the adoption of Thomas held good in Hindu law ; in any case, he was either unwilling or unable to assert his claims.

But he was now becoming a man of mark. The Sikhs—who at that time were no more than a predatory horde of badly-horsed marauders—had had what Thomas called “ a sample of my method of fighting ; ” and the Upper Duab had been entirely delivered from their unwelcome presence. But he was now looking out for fresh employment, and accepted an engagement under Lakwa Dada, one of Sindhia's best Generals, to raise and train a considerable body of horse and foot in the frontier-district of Paniput, the scene of old

campaigns. He got this second start in 1797, the beginning of a brief, but by no means inglorious, career.

It might, indeed, have ended in his entering the service of Sindhia permanently ; but, as we have seen already, Thomas was wanting in worldly wisdom ; and he preferred to run a solitary course, rather than plod on as a prosperous subordinate in a settled system.

De Boigne might have conciliated the cometary man and brought him into a regular orbit ; but that wise commander was now gone ; and the reins had fallen into the hands of a far less competent successor, a Frenchman of low birth and breeding whose proper name was Pierre Cuiller, but who now assumed the style of "General Perron," to whom a separate chapter will be devoted presently.

In the meanwhile we shall be content to bear in mind what has been said of the changed character of the French adventurers after the fall of the Bourbon monarchy. Up to that time the greater number had been cadets of good families seeking fortune by the aid of their swords ; but now men of much humbler origin appeared in India, seeking a share of the good things understood to be at the disposal of the brave and skilful. Perron, as will be more fully shown hereafter, was singularly unlike Thomas in some important respects, although in his first introduction nearly his parallel, having deserted from before the mast of a vessel in Suffren's squadron about the same time that Thomas left the adverse fleet of Admiral Hughes. But the times were such that the most commonplace plebeian had scope for the loftiest ambition in Indian fields ; and the dreams of Thomas were none the less likely to offend the views of Perron because of their romantic element. While Raymond was high in power at Haidarabad and Citizen Ripaud an ambassador between the Mauritius and Mysore, Perron may well have indulged in the framing of schemes in which he may have looked on the Irish seaman as a hostile element.

In the immediate present Thomas was giving but too much opening for criticism. When, in 1798, the Sikh danger had passed away, the Franco-Mahrattas at Delhi had no further use for him, and accordingly dispensed with his services. Consequently he and his followers had to adopt a predatory life in pain of starvation ; and it is to be feared that he was now little better than a dacoit defying the police. His admirers may regret to have to say so ; but the truth is paramount.

The fact is that Upper India was at this pass that every man was a law to himself. The landlords robbed the tenants, and the soldiers robbed the landlords ; the only wonder is that there was anything left for any one. "It is a matter of fact,"

so an official record assures us, "that in those days the highways were unoccupied and travellers walked through byways. The facility of escape, the protection afforded by the heavy jungles, and the numerous forts that then studded the country, with the ready sale for plundered property, all combined to foster spoliation."* If this was the state of things at Aligurh, where Perron had his head-quarters with all the best troops of the Government at his disposal, what must have been the condition of the tracts between Delhi and the desert, where Thomas was now operating?

Returning to Jhajar, the chivalrous buccaneer soon broke new ground by leading his men into the territory of the Jaipur State, which lay on the South of his present barren country. Sitting down before a small place not far from Kanaund, he demanded a ransom of one *lakh*, but accepted half of that sum on the fort capitulating under threat of assault. In the course of these transactions an unfortunate accident set fire to the town, and all was lost. After some further depredations in Jaipur lands, Thomas returned to his head-quarters and began seriously to consider his future prospects.

It is probable that the district of Jhajar had not at times in itself the means of subsistence for even such a small body of men as he now commanded, during the time that must elapse before new engagements could be obtained. Sindhia's French officers, too, were not masters to his mind. Northern Jaipur had been ravaged: very possibly the forces of the State had taken possession of the wasted province: what was to be done?

The question was to be solved by the law of least resistance. On the Southern side prudential considerations barred the way; on the East the Delhi territory was under the direct sway of the French; on the West lay the arid solitudes of Bikanir. But to the North was a tract of over three thousand square miles, known as Hariana ("Green-Land") which was compact, capable, and without an owner. It contained many villages and small towns, with at least two more considerable places, both fortified; an ancient canal passed through, and to the N.-W. ran the river Caggar, leaving a deposit of fertilizing silt after each rainy season. But the soil was stiff, so as to depend upon irrigation for its fertility; and irrigation demanded constant labour, which had been rendered somewhat scarce by the ravages of a terrible famine that had depopulated the country in 1783-4.† Nevertheless the pasturage was generally

* "Aligurh Statistics. By Sherer and Hutchinson. Roorkee, 1856."

† Some details of this visitation have been recorded by the present writer in a former work ("Fall of the Moghul Empire," 3rd, ed., pp. 146-7.) It was known, then and long after, as the *Chalisa Kani*.

good, the cattle were famous for strength and quality, and the people were hardy, though somewhat lawless by reason of pastoral habits and long anarchy. In the midst of the District lay the two cities—Hansi and Hisar—, the latter being built on high ground, and easily defensible. The failure of the water-supply had acted disastrously on these places ; the fort of each was in ruins ; and the streets were filled with squalid houses and clay huts.

(To be continued.)

. ART. II.—THE MALABAR ONAM FESTIVAL.

FEW spots in the world possess a greater degree of interest for the ethnologist, the naturalist, the antiquarian, or even the merely observant traveller whose only object is to feast his eyes on the lovely work of the great Architect and Painter, than the beautiful old world region of Malabar—washed on its western boundary by the ceaseless waves of an ocean that from the remotest times has borne on its bosom the vessels and caracoles of the most enterprising maritime nations of all ages and continents, and guarded on its east by a sheltering range of mountain barriers which send down their dashing rivers and laughing streams to irrigate its alluvial valleys, its gardens and table-lands, and render them fertile, productive and beautiful. It is not Nature alone, as represented in roaring cascade or whympering burn, in gorgeous meadow or silent, sun-steeped glen, in waving rice-fields of soft green hue, that in Malabar is beautiful almost beyond compare. Even humanity in this little strip of Eden has its own singular sweetness and charm. The higher races of the wave-fringed province, chiefly the Nair or warrior class of old, possessed, even as far back as a decade of centuries ago, a philosophy and a civilisation so highly developed that they still evoke the admiration of Western peoples. At the same time, this system of civilisation was honey-combed with so many childish superstitions, so many absurd fallacies and delusive myths, that the casual observer hesitate^d to associate the idea of civilisation in any form with a people so profoundly steeped in sentiment and superstition, and these still continue to flourish in undiminished vitality throughout the length and breadth of the land. What are we to say, for instance, asks a great authority on Malabar, of a people who throughout a thousand years and more have been looking wistfully back to an event like the departure of their last sovereign, Emperor Cheruman Perumal, to Mecca, and whose rulers are still supposed to assume the sceptre, now, of course, no more than an empty honour, on the understanding that they simply hold it “until the Uncle who has gone to Mecca returns?”

Cheruman Perumal was a great, wise and beneficent monarch. Under his rule his people enjoyed peace, plenty, and prosperity, in a remarkable degree. But after he had held the sceptre for a long time, he suddenly conceived the idea of dividing his kingdom among his numerous vassals and of himself setting forth on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Not long after his departure the melancholy intelligence travelled over the

sea to his dominions, that he had abjured his ancestral faith and turned Moslem. That little circumstance, however, has never troubled his loyal and trustful subjects, or their descendants. "The Uncle," they say with tender confidence, "will return again to rule us. The Millennium will surely come."

Here, let it be noted, we find an ever present hope of the approach of that glorious age "when the kindly earth shall slumber lapt in universal law." Here we find, not that doubting creed which cannot rid itself of the idea that the goal is still far away, and that it is best to derive consolation by dreaming a dream that may never take material shape. Apart, however, from these his childish beliefs and superstitions, the Malayalee is possessed of characteristics that claim for him a high place in our esteem. Essentially pastoral in his habits, he has always displayed wisdom in the social, domestic and physical concerns of his life, and simple æstheticism in his choice of environment. On the margin of a fertile valley or ravine, with bright green fields of rice, stretching in billowy expanses from before his gate-way, he loves to select the site of his dwelling. Fair hills, draped in the loveliest of Nature's garments, lift their heads in front of his homestead and offer a supreme panorama for him to gaze upon. Melodious mountain streams descend the hill slopes, their gurgling music borne down by eastern breezes. Through gleaming vistas of woodland and dale come glimpses of soft, still waters bathed in the shimmering tropical light. A babbling rivulet that bickers down the valley, now through open spaces, now through brambly wildernesses of thorny Malabar holly, in the impenetrable thickets of which the waterfowl builds her nest and rears her brood, is skilfully turned aside to right and to left, high up in its course, in order that it may water the terraced rice lands and the carefully tended fruit gardens. Then the water, having served the purposes of the farmer, flows past his outer gateway and is made to answer his domestic needs and requirements. Thus, the simple, pastoral Malayalee adapts Nature to his uses with a skill which it would perhaps be impossible to improve upon.

In the matter of his feasts and festivals also, he has been no less felicitous in his arrangements, fixing his holidays at most appropriate and favourable seasons. For example, his great New Year festival called Vishu falls at the time of the vernal equinox. A few early showers—the advance forces of the South-west Monsoon—having fallen and cooled the baked earth, everything is freshly green and delightful for the eye of man, or bird, or beast to rest upon. The hardy meadow grass has sprung up everywhere with promptitude; the early and more daring feathered warblers have begun to appear in grove

and copse ; lively squirrels have resumed their music and mirthfulness and are leaping from tree to tree, delighted at the prospect of the mangoes soon ripening and the luscious jack bursting on the shady trees in the farmer's flourishing orchard. After a season of blinding dust and almost killing drought, during which the earth gaped for moisture, and the wan, withered foliage hissed plaintively for rain, when the world is again enrobed in garments that are a reflected vision, as it were, of celestial realms, it is certainly fitting that man should take upon himself to celebrate the coming of a New Year. But it is not of the Vishu that I would treat in the present paper. I propose rather to dwell at length on the revered and picturesque harvest festival of Onam. It falls at the time of the new moon in August-September. This is, beyond doubt, one of the most charming seasons in Malabar. For, perhaps, more than two months the South-West monsoon has been pouring down in torrents, flooding the villages, submerging the exposed rice lands, uprooting giant trees from the mountain slopes, enveloping hill and dale and barren moor in sombre, dispiriting and dense vapours. It has now rested for a while from its titanic labours, and an agreeable change has come over the spirit of Nature. The gracious green and light gold of the early tropical summer rests sweetly once more on the face of the land. In the meadows, and lanes and hedge-rows, by the margin of hurrying streams, the young grass has sprung up again and presents the appearance of a soft velvet carpet of the most refreshing green. Beautiful blossoms have opened out their glories on every side. In a little pellucid pool the lotus leaves rest softly on the bosom of the water, and the rich pink petals are unfolding under the influence of an ardent morning sun. Dragon-flies with multi-coloured wings of softest texture flit about among the flowers, and now and then there is a light splash in the water agitating its surface in widening circles, as a fine specimen of the *ophicephalus malabaricus* darts up from his cosy nook under a submerged stone to indulge in a breath of air. All around the margin of this little translucent pool, the red and black land-crabs are bustling about excitedly, perfectly unconcerned with the beauties of the purple lilies that grow about them in profusion. In the hollows of smooth caladium leaves the morning dew-drops lie like so many sparkling gems, which, when a whiff of breeze sways the leaves, slide up and down the smooth surface, enhancing their liquid beauties without destroying their rounded symmetry.

Away to east and to west, to north and south, wherever the rice field is not, and the homestead of the yeoman does not stand between Nature and her primeval freedom, there stretch rolling expanses of Cassia, the little yellow blossoms attracting

myriads of white and yellow butterflies, lively grasshoppers, industrious bees and swarms of other little insects that are rejoicing in the warm sunshine, and at the same time laying up their stores of provender against seasons of scarcity. Birds of gorgeous plumage or of rich powers of melody are singing everywhere in the sunny morning. On yonder headless coconut tree the black and white Malabar magpie sits and chants a song, the full-throated sweetness of which may be heard almost a mile away. He is the earliest of Malabar warblers. When the rest of the bird world is still asleep, even before the industrious crow wakens up to renew his evil courses, the magpie is up and singing in the raw morning with a display of conscious pride. One by one, the other choristers of the woods come out and join independently in the exquisite matin service. From a bamboo thicket comes the passionate song of the brown-crested bull-bull. The cooing of green pigeon and plaintive dove sound mysteriously amid thick groves of mango. Hidden away in impenetrable copses of lantana, the little wrens are making a great hubbub with their quick chirrupy notes that lead one to fancy they are in mortal dread, when all the while it is only an exhibition of absolutely uncalled-for excitement over the discovery of a toothsome worm. The large-sized Indian woodpecker is tapping skillfully at every tree-trunk whose soundness appears to him doubtful. Orioles are hopping about from branch to branch in search of a morning meal. The Malabar thrush is singing sweetly, his long drawn note sounding for all the world like the whistling of a school boy. Surely, this the most appropriate season of all for the greatest of Malayalee festivals.

The Onam celebration varies in duration in different parts of the province, lasting but a couple of days in some localities and among some castes; but in most cases, the celebration begins a week before the big Onam day (Tiru Onam) and lasts for two days later. A beautiful legend accounts for the origin of the feasts, and it is still implicitly believed by the simple people of the rustic parts of Malabar, where a matter-of-fact foreign civilization has not yet influenced the child-like simplicity and credulity of the inhabitants. Long, long ago, in an age, the history of which has been absorbed into the twilight of fable there reigned over Keralam a great monarch whose name was Maha Beli. Perfect truth and justice, sweet peace and universal good-will prevailed upon earth. The king was the father of his people, and his realm was an Arcadia, over which the angel of peace constantly extended his protecting wing. As in the happy village of Grand-pre, everything was soft and sweet and beautiful. The people dwelt in the love of God and man.

" Alike were they free from Fear that reigns with the tyrant, and envy the vice of republics.

Neither locks had they to their doors nor bars to their windows.

But their dwellings were open as day, and the hearts of the owners.

There the richest was poor, and the poorest lives in abundance.

An old Malayan chronicle relates how men were all equal in the republic of Moha Beli. Equal happiness prevailed. No one feared his fellow; sorrow and suffering were unknown, and the death of the youth was unheard of. People lived to the age of thousands of years; all crops flourished with equal luxuriance; paddy yielded a hundred-fold in a soil of marvellous fertility. Evil men never existed; only good men lived in this golden age. The world was one even region of happiness. Each man lived in a beautiful home; everyone wore ornaments of the purest gold; there was no theft, no lying, no deceit, not even of the size of a grain of sesamum; weights and scales were never false; false measures were unknown; good rain fell seasonably.

After Maha-Beli had reigned for a considerable length of time, the gods in the skies began to envy him and his subjects, and Vishnu resolved to humble him and trample him in the dust, burying him in the dreadful womb of the nether world. With this object, Vishnu assumed the form of a hunch-backed dwarf, and contrived to appear before the king and beguile him into the belief that he saw before him only a forlorn youth, frightened in the midst of strange beings. Maha-Beli, with characteristic kindness and hospitality, asked the stranger what he would have; and even offered him of sweets and fruit; but the stranger politely declined the proffered gifts. "What may you want, then?" enquired the unsuspecting monarch, "Only three feet of ground." Suspecting nothing, the king readily granted this apparently modest request. Even as Maha-Beli poured water into the palm of the dwarf, in recognition of the latter's right to possess the little strip of ground asked for, the dwarf suddenly grew to such a size that one foot covered the king's dominions, while the second covered every inch of the firmament above Maha-Beli's dominions. Then the unhappy king realised, when too late, that he had been grossly deceived by no less a being than the great Vishnu himself. "Where shall I measure the third foot of ground?" thundered out the deity, in tones that shook the foundations of the world and rent the vault of Heaven. Bowing his head meekly and calmly, the monarch replied: "Measure it on my head, almighty lord!" And thus, the just and noble king was

trampled into dust, and driven down into the nether regions, a blameless victim of the envy and hatred of the gods.

This sorrowful cataclysm is said to have happened on Anam day in the asterism of Tiru-Anam, answering to the latter half of August and the first half of September. The good people of Malabar celebrate this solemn anniversary with mirth and rejoicings, because they believe that Maha-Beli, thoughtful of his people even in the moment of his downfall and destruction, contrived to wring from Vishnu a promise to be allowed to return to earth once a year on Anam day in order to see whether his people continued to be as happy and contented and prosperous as they were in his day ; and, rather than that the kindly and unforgetting king should be grieved at the sight of sorrow and suffering, and at the sound of weeping and mourning, his grateful and beloved people carefully hide away for the time being all evidences of the degeneracy of the world. The natty, palm-thatched cottages nestling in the deep inviting shadow of groves of palm, mango and jack, are prettily decorated with flowers culled from lane and meadow. The effigy of the god Vishnu in clay is put up in every house and worshipped on each of the several days of the festival. At early dawn gay groups of little lads and maidens emerge from their homes to gather flowers. Each little one carries a tiny fibre basket suspended from its neck by a string. All up and down the country-side the children roam to cull the blossoms that abound on every hand, keeping up all the while a merry chorus that accords harmoniously with the voice of the morning breeze, and the melodious warble of the bull-bull and the magpie.

The songs they sing are seldom heard at any other season. They form, as it were, an inalienable feature of the celebration of Onam, just as other melodies have their own special seasons. In the Malayalam month which corresponds with November-December, the women celebrate a special festival of their own, when great long swings are put up, and day and night the women and girls, released from care for a brief spell, keep swinging all the time, singing, as they swing, songs that have a tender, touching sweetness. Then, when the intensely rainy month of Karkadam, answering to June-July, comes round, and all out door industries are out of the question, and man is compelled to keep within doors, you may hear, wherever you turn, pious Hindus singing solemn verses from the Ramayana. As for the ballads and glees that may be heard at Onam-time they are certainly sweet ; but the listener, cannot shake off a feeling that is almost akin to pain. I do not intend to maintain that this indefinable pathos is peculiar to Malabar music alone. Most Eastern music is stamped with this mark

of nebulous sorrow. Its essential attribute is to soften and subdue. It unconsciously steals away the sharpness of sorrow's sting. It is music that is in perfect consonance with the emotions of peoples who have from time out of history fed their souls on the food of fatalism. Eastern music, in its lighter mood, can do little more than produce in the listener what Wordsworth call a "calm passiveness." When we return to our Onam ballads and glees, the soft sadness of their strains takes hold unconsciously of our feelings, and, as will be seen from the specimen which follows, the spell of the song does not consist in its words, or in its meaning, for it would be impossible to say what the lyrist is driving at. The rendering which I give is as far as possible faithful to the cadence and versification of the original. The ditty opens with an address to a girl who has been visited by a generous swain, from whom she has received valuable gifts. As the song proceeds, the verses become nonsensical and unconnected with those preceding them. The meaning, real or allegorical, gets hopelessly unfathomable. The nonsense rhymes, like some of our own nursery favourites, fly off at a tangent from one theme to another, though the patriotic native seriously assures you that there is a mystic meaning in it all. But he invariably fails to enlighten your ignorance which you soon find is not more profound than his own. There are a great many of these Onam ballads; but most of them are of a piece with the specimen given. It is a delight to hear them chanted in the early morning hours by bands of light-hearted children with clear bell-like voices ;—

Chembil house maiden, little maiden,

What did he give you who yesterday came ?

A new dress he gave me, a small dress he gave me,

A lounge likewise on which to recline,

A tank to disport in, a well to draw water from, a compound

To gambol in, a big field to sing in.

Freshen up flowers, oh freshen for me.

On the south and the north shore, in the compound of
Kannan, there grew up and flourished a thumba flower
plant.

Out of this plant were fifty boats gotten ; at the head of each
boat a banyan tree grew.

From the banyan there grew a tiny little babe, and a drum
and a stick for the baby to play with.

The drum and the drum-stick, the household domestic, all
together they flew away and they vanished.

Freshen up, flowers, oh freshen for me.

A measure and a half measure, and elephant's chains and
earrings, who goes under the flower tree beneath which the
elephant passes ?

It is no one at all, it is no one at all ; it is the Kuttikat baby god ; when we went forth to pluck of ripe fruit, a mischievous urchin sprang up and bit us.

With bitten foot when we went to the Brahmin's, the Brahmin lady, we found, had been injured.

With bitten foot then we went to the house of Edathil, whose lady with fever lay stricken.

Freshen up, flowers, oh freshen for me.

At noon of Atham day a bamboo fresh sprouted, and there-with we made us a good fish trap.

And when to the tank a fishing we went, we baited a minnow.

By its tail did we hold it, on the *bund* did we dash it, and of cocoanuts, with milk full, eighteen we ground.

With elephant pepper we dressed it ; with assafætida we filled it, right up to the elephant's head.

Freshen up, flowers, oh freshen for me.

Having set out at dawn to gather blossoms, the little children return with their beautiful spoils by nine or ten A.M. ; and then the daily decorations begin. The chief decoration consists of a carpet made out of the gathered blossoms, the smaller ones being used in their entirety, while the large flowers and one or two varieties of foliage of differing tints are pinched up into little pieces to serve the decorator's purpose. This flower carpet is invariably made in the centre of the clean strip of yard in front of the neat house. Often, it is a beautiful work of art accomplished with a delicate touch and a highly artistic sense of tone and blending. Among the flowers that contribute to the exquisite design may be named the common red, as well as the rarer variegated, *lantana*, the large red shoe flower (*Hibiscus rosa Sinensis*) ; and, indispensable feature of the cultivated vegetation in a Malayali's homestead, the yellow marigold, the yellow aster, the scarlet button flower, the sacred *tulsi* (*ocimum sanctum*), the wee, modest *thumber* (a vermifugal member of the Nepetæ tribe), the common *tagara* (yellow wild cassia), the beautiful bluebell, another common species of *Cassia* which the natives call the "Onam flower." In addition, various little violet and purple wildlings that adorn the margins of rice fields, and beautiful specimens of the lily and allied orders of tropical plants are requisitioned by the weavers of these remarkably handsome, but, alas, quickly perishable, carpets. The carpet completed, a miniature pandal, hung with little festoons, is erected over it, and at all hours of the day neighbours look in, to admire and criticise the beautiful handiwork. This object is peculiar to the naturally well favoured province of Keralam ; and it serves to remind us that the people who possess the refined taste to produce such a pretty work of art must have long enjoyed a very high order of civilisation.

It may be mentioned here that in homes where the blessing of children is absent, the inmates call in orphan children from the neighbourhood and send them out to gather flowers for the carpet, and to assist generally in the indoor celebration of the feast, in the performance of the daily religious rites, in the preparation of meals, as also in the eating of them. These orphan children are rewarded with new cloths, it being indispensable that everyone should wear new garments during Onamtide. On Tiru Onam day, or the great day of the festival season, earthen effigies of the presiding deity of the Hindu pantheon are put up in every Malayali's home where Onam is celebrated in the true orthodox fashion. Little squares marked out with pigments are drawn on the floor, and the image is placed erect in them. On Makam day (16 days after the feast), after the performance of the usual three *pujahs*, the image is ceremoniously presented with a new cloth. In some parts of the district this ritual lasts only ten days. In fact, in different parts of Malabar the feast is celebrated differently, some of the distinctive features of the celebration being very pronounced. It is, however, as you go further south that you find how great and honoured an institution Onam is with the pastoral child of Malabar. Everywhere you meet people moving about with all the appearances of holiday-making. You hear music and laughter, and sounds of general rejoicing on all sides. Here, in a bosky dell, a little knot of lassies are singing sweetly some of the delightful Onam songs, that are so popular; there, seated on a stile is a lad of 16 playing on a little bamboo bow, from the single string of which he contrives to draw forth some notes of singular sweetness. In yonder substantial country mansion, with its shady fruit garden, its faultlessly clean courtyard and its gate-house—relic of the old warrior days of Malabar when at any moment a man may have had to speak with his enemies at the gate—there are groups of girls and women standing in circles in the verandah, clapping their hands, chanting beautiful hymns to Vishnu, now breaking into a graceful dance, anon chasing one another round the yard, or perhaps scampering away bashfully at sight of an approaching male visitor. And so on, the careless days of the festival glide by. No doubt, the heart of the great king Maha-Beli, who watches all these things unobserved, must be bursting with delight, for what does he see all around him but evidences of prosperity of a kind in which poverty is unknown, and what does he hear on all sides but the sounds of mirth and merriment? The glad summer sun shines brilliantly on the green and gladdened earth; man and bird and beast and flower and all combine make this world a scene of unalloyed happiness, just in order that the loving and unforgotten monarch might not be

disappointed at sight of a suffering people and a decayed world.

The day previous to Tiru Onam is indeed a great and important one for the Malayali. It is the day when rich and poor, great and small, the landlord and his tenant, the capitalist and the coolie, meet one another in a truly humanitarian spirit, and, by a cordial interchange of gifts and good wishes, proclaim for once that, in spite of the accidents of birth, man to man the world over are brothers still for a'that. It is, I may say, the Santa Claus day of the Malayali, for the children look forward eagerly for new cloths and jewels and lollipops and for freedom to roam about and do just what they like. Each and every member of the family receives gifts of new cloths from the head of the house, a pretty custom which, as we know, is carried out to this day, with some modifications, of course, in every well regulated German home. Early in the morning troops of cultivators and labourers pour into the front yard of the square, or *jeran*, bearing bunches of luscious bananas, and make their votive offerings to the great man, receiving in return useful gifts of oil, ghee, rice or new cloths. Handicraftsmen take newly-made articles as gifts to their employers, or to the laird of the village, and receive gifts of food in return. The agreeable task of making and receiving presents being over, religion again claims its share of attention, and the clay image of Vishnu is once again devoutly worshipped in every pious household. The outdoor celebration of Onam forms an unimportant part of the festival. It would, indeed, be strange were it otherwise in a country where manly sports and exercises have formed an essential part of the education of youth; where, in the ancient times of Rajah rule, the Malabar soldiery were among the bravest of the brave, when the warrior Nair went about at all hours armed to the teeth, with his comely head erect and dignified defiance in his gait and general bearing.

In riverain tracts regattas are held on the river and great excitement prevails. In every village a great tournament is held for several days on the village green. This tournament is called by such names as Onam Thallue (Onam beating) and Pada Kalli (war game). It is promoted by the leading men of the village. Champion wrestlers choose youths from among their disciples, and the rival forces meet on the green. One of the leaders sends out some young brave from his side to exhibit feats of skill and strength in view of an assembled multitude. The other side thereupon sends out one of its men, and a tussle for victory ensues. Then another couple, and then a third, and so on, go forth to sustain the reputation of the respective forces. The tournament becomes keener and more exciting as it proceeds, for each succeed-

ing couple is selected because of greater prowess and skill. Umpires are present to see fair play; but, in spite of this, and in spite of strict rules which do not permit blows to be delivered, the contest at times becomes hot, and the fun may turn serious and end in broken heads or limbs. After the tournament, the promoters of the exhibition reward their favourites with new cloths—a gift of a new cloth being the usual form of present which an inferior receives from a superior in Malabar. The tournament reaches its zenith on greatest day of the festival, and, while the males of the village are out watching its progress, or, mayhap, having a friendly bout in some quiet wayside tavern, the women remain at home singing songs and enjoying themselves in exactly the same simple fashion that their forbears did in the ancient times, centuries previously, when the celebrated Maha-Beli ruled the land and everything was peace and plenty and good will. Late in the evening, the women with great devotion, place the image of Vishnu on a miniature pandal made of jack-wood and take it and throw it into a neighbouring stream or pond. The men come home late in the evening for their meals, and, after they have been served, the patient, hard-working and submissive women sit down to eat. And thus one of the greatest of Malayali Hindu festivals comes to a close, and the useful native resumes the even tenour of an existence which for its simplicity is unsurpassed.

It is no mean task to describe the celebration of Onam as it takes place in every different community in Malabar. What most bewilders the foreign ethnologist who tries to understand the multitudinous social and religious institutions of Malabar, is the local differences which they present. No religious ceremony whatsoever be its importance or object, is celebrated in the same way in any two villages. Often the points of difference lead to much confusion. As regards the Onam, volumes could be written in describing the various local peculiarities that are observed in its celebration. The hospitable Nambudiri Brahmin landlord celebrates the festival by going in for extra religious devotion, and by keeping open house, and entertaining all sorts of Brahmins with sumptuous fare. The rustic toddy-drawer commemorates the festival by outdoor pastimes, good feeding and profuse floral decorations. While, in the historic barony of Kadathnad, in the north of British Malabar, the pretty custom of receiving and entertaining Oneiswaran, or the Onam god, is still much upheld. A man of the Panam or Malayan caste, dressed to represent Maha-Beli, starts out long before dawn, and runs along from house to house, ringing a little bell as he goes. The people of the village hear the bell and promptly open the door to wel-

come the visitor. Oneiswaran is attired in a truly fantastic garb. On his head he wears a high crown, shaped like a cone and made of the flower spadix of the areca palm. His limbs are enveloped in a cloth of red and white, and his body is painted with pigments of various colours. His hair is decked with wild flowers, and altogether it is a very eccentric and grotesque god indeed that he represents. But, doubtless, it is the old story once again, of Beauty and the Beast, told so eloquently in the earlier pages of Wyke Bayliss. It is not the garb that catches the eye, and its grotesqueness does not provoke profane or ribald humour. The villagers see, in the light of a faith that nothing has yet been able to shake, and through the glamour of beautiful superstitions, the King's Messenger in the ridiculous creature that runs round the courtyard once and then makes off to the next house. Oneiswaran is supposed to represent kingliness and regal splendour. He is supposed to bring back a vivid picture of an age when only beauty smiled upon this earth, when nothing that was ugly or repugnant to the eye marred the order and aestheticism of a pure and unsullied world. And yet, remarkable as it is, he is the only graceless thing amidst all the manifestations of loveliness. If, however, we remember the lesson that Art teaches, we shall find that there is nothing very surprising in this quaint eastern custom which permits ugliness, and all that is grotesque, to be a symbol of the perfect and the beautiful. Beauty is not always that which pleases the eye. Often, it is that which only pleases the mind. In many an august Roman Catholic Cathedral in Europe, it is not before the lovely painting of the Madonna by Raphael, that the devout pilgrim bows in ecstatic adoration, but before the unbeautiful, almost repellent picture of the Black Virgin; for, in Europe as in primitive Kadathnad, the message of beauty continues to come frequently in a quaint language spoken by a quaint messenger, who, for all his absurdity of form and manner, is never misunderstood. Mayhap, as the years glide by, the messenger will come with altered speech and altered form to these simple Malayalis; but who can tell how long it will be before this happens? and many of us would, I suspect, think with regret that a change should come at all. In the wake of Oneiswaran follows another hillman with bag in hand. This one sweeps up the gifts of rice and other provisions placed by the house people for the acceptance of Oneiswaran, and runs away to take more supplies from other doors. Before the sun rises, the peripatetic representative of the deity returns to his house with a bountiful, if somewhat mixed, supply of provisions, which will answer for a pretty good length of time. It is interesting to notice how sentiment and sense are cleverly blended in this pretty custom

of propitiating the Onam deity. The panan is the devil driver and sorcerer in the village, and his services are often requisitioned by the village folk, and here certainly is a pretty way of compensating him for his services to the village community.

Onam is truly one of the prettiest harvest festivals to be met with in any part of the world. A great wealth of religious and social detail has gathered round it, and its origin, though freely dealt with in many an ancient legend and folk song, is still the subject of divided opinions; but for all that it is by common consent a season when care and the serious burdens of life must be put away, when young and old should seek to live in an Arcadia, where distress and suffering are unknown. Unconsciously, the Malayali works himself up into this enviable state of mind as this great national festival of his approaches. And out in the rustic areas of the province, when the Chingom month draws nigh and the Onam butterfly (the large emperor blue) begins to flit about in the warm sunshine, the most casual observer notices a change in the Malayali. His step is more like his yard, cleaner, were that possible, his women wear a sweeter look, and their natural charm is infinitely increased.

In the spring, a livelier iris changes on the burnished dove,

In the spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love

Even so is it with the Malayali, and long may it remain thus in a region where the primitive simplicity of the old world is not yet dead; where, if one but steps aside from the busy town, he enters a pastoral region the simple annals of which would form fitting theme for the pen of some master like him who has enshrined in immortal verse the simple story of the ideal village of Auburn.

ART. III.—“THE WONDERFUL CENTURY.”

BY ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1898.)

THIS is a remarkable book, and no one can read it without interest and profit. It is proposed to note briefly each of the subjects treated by the author as helping to make the Century wonderful: I give the list of these subjects, and propose further on to notice each separately.

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| I. Modes of Travelling | { Railway. |
| | { Steamship. |
| II. Labour-saving Machinery. | |
| III. The Conveyance of Thought | { Telegraph. |
| | { Telephone. |
| | { Matches for ignition. |
| IV. Fire and Light | { Gas. |
| | { Electricity. |
| V. New application of Light | { Photography. |
| | { Röntgen Rays. |
| VI. Spectrum-Analysis. | |
| VII. Theoretical discoveries in Physics | { Conservation of Energy. |
| | { Molecular Theory of Gases. |
| | { Velocity of Light. |
| VIII. Application of Physical Principles | { Phonographs. |
| | { Röntgen Rays. |
| IX. Importance of Dust. | |
| X. Great Problems of Chemistry. | |
| XI. Astronomy and Cosmic Theories | { New Planets. |
| | { Meteors. |
| | { Glacial Epoch. |
| XII. Geology | { Antiquity of the Genus <i>Homo</i> . |
| XIII. Evolution and Natural Selection. | |
| XIV. Discoveries in Physiology | { Cell-Theory. |
| | { Germ-Theory. |
| | { Anæsthetics. |
| | { Antiseptics. |

Some of the subjects are highly scientific, such as the progress of our knowledge in Astronomy, Geology, and Physics. As these are outside my sphere of study, I can only notice them briefly: in the volume under review they are fully described. Occasionally, on certain subjects, the author allows himself to indulge in deep censure of those who differ from

him. I cannot follow him there. I may have my own private views ; but the object of this paper is to state facts, advance knowledge, and approach the Truth. A quarter of a century hence the strictures which the author has printed, will either be accepted, or laughed out of court, by the next generation : it is well not to be too confident on any subject, but to reflect on the foolish condemnation by ancient men of past generations of what is now received as absolute truth, such as the revolution of the Globe, and the like.

I. Modes of Travelling. I myself, with my surviving contemporaries, can recollect the way in which boys of my own age returned from their home to Eton College, or crossed the Straits of Dover to Calais. During the reign of Queen Victoria these astounding changes took place. In the light and serious literature of the reigns of the fourth George, and the fourth William, there is abundant evidence of the mode of travelling by horse, by chaise, by coach, by waggon, of that period. As a fact, the Queen, on her wedding-day, came through Eton College to Windsor in a chariot drawn by four horses, and stopped in front of the College to receive the homage of the school, of which I had the honour of being at that time the Captain. It must be noted that the railway, the steamship, and the bicycle, differ fundamentally from all modes of transit of past generations, and are not mere improvements of the same idea, or developments of an existing system.

II. Labour-saving Machinery. The efficiency of human labour has been multiplied by the adoption of mechanical contrivances for the purposes of agriculture, manufacture, sewing, and type-writing. The idea was, indeed, conceived at the latter end of the last century ; but it marks a distinctly new departure in human industry.

III. The Conveyance of Thought. This subject is not only entirely a new invention, but so astounding, as to appear incredible. The Telegraph and Telephone mark a new epoch in human life. In Europe they have superseded an organized system of transmission of letters from city to city ; but in British India they have done something more : the famous telegraphic message from Delhi to Lahor on May 10th, 1857, contributed to the safety of the Empire. No. 1864, during the time that I acted as Home Secretary of the Government of India, under the Viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence, the telegraph was first declared open from Calcutta to London, and by order of the Viceroy I penned the first telegram of respectful homage from His Excellency to Her Majesty. We hardly realised then, that a message despatched from Calcutta at sunset would be received in London soon after noon of the same day, five or six hours before it was sent !

"Panting time toiled after it in vain."

Still more astounding is the invention of the telephone. During the late illness of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, it is officially reported, it was arranged that he could, in his own room in Marlborough House, hear Canon Fleming preaching in Chester Square. Music can, in the same manner, be communicated; yet both Telegraph and Telephone are still in their infancy, and the extension of their use is a problem of the future. It must be remembered that in the telephone the voice is not actually transmitted, as in a speaking-tube, but is accurately reproduced by means of two vibrating discs, the one set in motion by the speaker, while the electric current causes identical vibrations in the similar disc at the end of the line, and these vibrations reproduce the exact tones of the voice, so as to be perfectly intelligible. At Buda Pesth has been started a telephonic newspaper. At certain fixed hours definite classes of news are sent by an employé along the wires, which are laid to the houses and offices of subscribers, so that each person hears the particular news which he desires, without the delay of printing a newspaper.

IV. Fire and Light. I can recollect London deriving its light from the oil-lamp, and the torch was not entirely disused. I recollect the difficulty which the housemaid experienced in striking sparks of light with the steel and flint into the tinder-box, and the surprise and wonder with which bottles from Paris, from which light could be extracted, were welcomed by children in the reign of George IV. Then came phosphorus, 1827-1834, about the time that I went to Eton, and what fun it was to play with matches! Gas was introduced into London as early as 1813, and gradually spread everywhere, indoors and outdoors, and was deemed to be invincible, until a mightier power was developed, in Electricity, which must carry all before it. Fire was, indeed, taken into the service of the 'genus *Homo*' at a very early stage of barbarism, and its use has advanced with the progress of civilisation; but in a few years of this Century a greater advance has been made than in all the Centuries preceding the Nineteenth.

V. New application of Light. Everything sinks into insignificance when compared with the discoveries made as to the nature of Light itself, and its effect upon various kinds of matter, leading to the discovery of the art of Photography. In 1839 Daguerre perfected the beautiful process of portrait-taking called the daguerrotype. I well recollect the head master of Eton, Dr. Hawtrey, returning from Paris in 1840 with a machine by which he took, on steel-plates, pictures of the College buildings, and I have by me photographs of the same nature of a slightly later date. At the time of the great

Exhibition of 1851 a further advance had been made, and the modern photograph came into existence, and we do not yet know the extent to which this newly discovered power can be applied : a photographic survey of the heavens on one uniform system is in progress, and the power of producing coloured photographs has, in 1891, been arrived at. The most recent of discoveries in connection with light is that peculiar form of radiation termed the X, or Röntgen, rays. They are produced by a special form of electrical current sent through a vacuum-tube, in and around which is some fluorescent substance, which, under the action of the current, becomes intensely luminous ; but the substances which are opaque or transparent to it, are not the same as those to which we usually apply the terms, but often the very contrary. A book of paper of a thousand pages, and a pack of cards, wood, carbon, leather, flesh, and skin, in moderate thicknesses, are transparent to the X rays, and the exact position of bullets embodied in the flesh or bone can be detected. Many further possibilities are opened out to this new form of radiant energy, which time alone will disclose.

VI. Spectrum-Analysis. This discovery has supplied a new engine of research, by which we are enabled to penetrate into the remotest depths of space, and learn something of the constitution and the motions of the constituent bodies of the Stellar Universe. It gives us a power and a knowledge which seemed absolutely and for ever unattainable by man. The subject is too deeply scientific to allude to further here, but on every ground the discovery and applications of spectrum-analysis deserve the highest place among the numerous great scientific achievements of the Nineteenth Century.

VII. Theoretical discoveries in Physics. Our author gives two instances : (1) the Law of Conservation of Energy, (2) the Molecular Theory of Gases. The subject is too scientific to be further discussed in a popular article such as the present. Our author writes that the great principle, evolved from discovered facts, teaches us that there is no origination of force on the Earth, but that all energy either now comes to us from the Sun, or was originated in the Sun before the Earth separated from it.

VIII. Application of Physical Principles. Two subjects are treated of by our author under this head.

(1) The Velocity of Light. This was first determined by irregularities in the time of the eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites, which were found to occur earlier or later than the calculated times according as we were near to, or far from, the planet. It was then found that it required eight minutes for light to travel from the Sun to the Earth, a distance of a little more

than ninety millions of miles, so that light travels about 196,000 miles in a second of time.

(2) The Phonograph. This is the invention of Edison, a citizen of the United States. The words of a speaker are heard quite intelligibly, with all their tones and modulations, at any distant time or place. I myself saw the late Shah of Persia, during his last visit to England, speaking in the Persian language in a certain position as regards a phonographic machine: when he had done speaking, and few who were present could understand what he had said, except myself and the late Sir Henry Rawlinson, something was done by the American proprietor of the machine, and, to the Shah's astonishment, His Majesty's very words came back to him out of the machine. The whole operation is mechanical. A diaphragm is set vibrating by the voice, and registers itself permanently on a cylinder of very hard wax, on an indented spiral line. This is effected by means of a fine steel-point, connected by a delicate lever with the centre of the diaphragm. When the diaphragm is set vibrating by the voice of the speaker, the steel-point moves rapidly up and down, and the resulting groove continually varies in depth, forming a complex series of undulations. If the cylinder be shifted back, so that the steel-point is exactly where it was at starting, and the cylinder is made to revolve and move onward at exactly the same rate as before, the up-and-down motions of the style, due to the irregular depth of the groove, set up the very same series of vibrations in the diaphragm as those which cut the groove; and these vibrations reproduce the voice with remarkable fidelity, so that the most complex and rapid voice can be heard quite intelligibly, though not exactly in the same tone of voice. These cylinders can be preserved for years. It must be admitted that the phonograph is one of the most marvellous inventions of man.

IX. Importance of Dust. "A source of beauty and essential to life." This seems a hard saying, and a strange way of talking about a positive nuisance; but it is none the less true. Our author sums up the amount of our debt to the universality of dust. It gives us the pure blue sky; it gives us the glories of the sunrise and sunset, and all the brilliant hues of high mountain regions. Half the beauty of the world would vanish with the absence of dust: dust also gives us diffused daylight: without dust the sky would appear absolutely black: we should have bright glaring sunlight, or intensely dark shadows, without any half tones. A late writer on the subject of Central Asia, C. Ujfalvy, points out the beneficent effect caused by dust, as the detritus of rock born by wind and storm has performed the silent yet beneficial work of

preparing large areas of culturable soil. The overwhelming importance of the small things of this world, even the despised things, has never been so strikingly illustrated as in these recent investigations into the widespread effects of atmospheric dust.

X. The great Problems of Chemistry. We can pass these over in silence, as they speak for themselves, and are too highly scientific for discussion by others than the expert. Among the latest news is that an American chemist of high repute has solved the problem of producing gold out of silver: this might have been scouted as a dream in past generations.

XI. Astronomy and Cosmic Theories. It is impossible to do justice to this great subject. The discovery of an additional planet, Neptune, in 1843, besides several asteroids, satellites, or minor planets, was an event which could have been expected, and further additions may be anticipated. The nature of the ring round the planet Saturn has been more accurately determined; but a still greater advance in knowledge is represented by the Meteoric Theory of the Universe, and the various phenomena presented by aerolites, fireballs, shooting or falling stars, now classed as meteors and meteorites. A new conception has been formed of the possible origin of the Universe, differing from that entertained last Century: this is one of the grandest achievements of the Nineteenth Century; yet our author remarks that they bring us no nearer to the First Cause of the vast Kosmos in which we live; but we know not what future centuries have in store for us.

XII. Geology. (1) The Glacial Epoch; (2) Antiquity of the 'Genus Homo.' The details and principles of this great science have been wholly worked out in the present Century. Sir Charles Lyell's epoch-making book, "The Principles of Geology," 1830, gave a new start to all future investigations, and Cuvier's Essay on the Theory of the Earth was, with profound respect, placed aside. It must be a sad suggestion to all writers in this critical, and ever advancing, age, that their fate may be as has been that of many an illustrious predecessor whose view was limited, and whose facts were insufficient. Lyell's method was that of constant appeal to the processes of Nature, and for a period of forty years he continued to extend his knowledge. His followers have been termed 'Uniformitarians,' on account of their belief that the causes which produced the phenomena manifested to us *in the crust of the earth are essentially of the same nature as those acting now.* The story of the Glacial Epoch, and the antiquity of the Genus Homo, is too long to be dwelt upon further here. They offend against pre-

judices worthy of the greatest respect ; but facts are facts, and cannot be set aside by fond legends and airy theories. The last word has not yet been spoken ; at any rate, there has been an immense advance in knowledge.

XIII. Evolution and Natural Selection. The author of this work, Alfred Russel Wallace, shares with the great Charles Darwin the honour of being the apostle of this revolutionary dogma. Robert Chambers, in 1844, in his anonymous volume, the "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation," had started the idea. I remember reading this book in India fifty years ago with interest and wonder, and a very wicked book it was then considered ; and, although mild and even religious in tone, it was met with a storm of indignant and senseless abuse, and even great men, like Sir John Herschel, spoke against it for its advocacy of "so great a scientific heresy as the 'Theory of Development.'" Fifteen years later Charles Darwin published his book on the "Origin of Species." A great change of public opinion has followed, but perhaps the end is not yet. On all subjects, especially on such as this, there should be an absence of all bitterness, all abuse, and a calm weighing of facts adduced, and arguments based upon them. This equanimity and nobility of mind have been found sadly wanting up to this very year.

XIV. Discoveries in Physiology. This Science, which investigates the complex phenomena of the motions, sensations, growth, and development, of organisms, is almost wholly the product of the present Century. The first great fundamental conception is the 'Cell-Theory,' definitely established for plants in 1838, and soon afterwards for animal structures. All organisms originate in simple 'cells,' which are almost identical in form and structure, and which thus constitute the fundamental units of all living things. Another discovery is that of the 'Germ-Theory.' It has been proved that the white corpuscles of the blood, whose functions were previously unknown, are really independent living organisms. They inhabit our blood-vessels and all the tissues of the body, and have important functions to perform, on which our very lives depend. Their full importance can be realized only in their relation to zymotic diseases, and have an important bearing on sanitation.

Two more discoveries have been made, which have done more to alleviate the sufferings of mankind than many mechanical inventions and philosophical theories which receive a more general admiration. I allude to the use of 'anæsthetics' in surgical operations, and the 'antiseptic' treatment of wounds. Ether and chloroform were first adopted* in 1848. I was present in the great battles of Sir Hugh Gough in the Panjab in 1845-46, and have witnessed the harrowing sight of the amputation of limbs of poor wounded soldiers, causing agony to the

poor sufferers most of which is obviated now. The use of antiseptics saves many a life in the Hospital from the suppuration of wounds which was produced by the rapid multiplication of minute organisms called bacteria.

Our author closes the First Part of his volume by a chapter summing up the achievements of the Nineteenth Century, and comparing it with the outcome of the long roll of preceding centuries. It would require a considerable time, and a lengthy consideration, to arrive at a safe conclusion. He expands the fourteen sections which we have reviewed, by bringing the subsections into line with the sections, and records twenty-four as the great discoveries of the Nineteenth Century, which he contrasts with the fifteen of all preceding ages; but we miss from the last list the rotatory motion of the Globe, the recognition of the Planetary System, the Law of Eclipses, Cartography, Architecture, Sculpture, Tablets of Written Inscriptions in Cuneiform, and Ideographic, as well as Alphabetic, Written Characters, the Preservation of the Dead, the use of Metals, the use of Clay, a certain knowledge of the property of Herbs, and all that distinguishes the Savage from the man in a higher stage, the Barbarian, and the Barbarian from the Civilized Man.

We could have wished that our Author had closed his interesting volume here, at the 158th page. The higher critics assert their capacity to detect a second hand in what has been handed down from former ages as the work of one author. In Part II of this volume we seem to come into contact with a writer with another style, without judicial calmness, in fact a partisan. He entitles Part II "Failures." They would more properly have been treated in a separate volume, as Failures are hardly a suitable subdivision of a volume entitled "The Wonderful Century." It seems to me more convenient to add the names of these so-called failures to the list of subjects, as follows:

XV. Phrenology.

XVI. Hypnotism.....

{ Thought-Reading.
Clairvoyance.
Mesmerism.

XVII. Vaccination.

XVIII. The evils attendant on
Civilization

{ Criminals in Prison.
Lunatics in Asylums.
Armies and Navies.
Rule of Subject Kingdoms.

XIX. Demon of Greed and
Plunder of the
Earth

{ For Gold.
For Dominion.
For Commerce.
Suffering of Lower Classes.

XV. Phrenology. The Author has himself no doubt of the

substantial truth and vast importance of this discovery. He complains that it has been neglected. He gives the history of the discovery that there was a real connection between the mental faculties and the form and size of the various parts of the brain : this was in the early years of the present Century. About the year 1836-37, I remember phrenologists coming to Eton to feel the bumps of the boys' heads, as it was called, and to record opinions as to the hidden springs of character, for the gratification of fond parents. I remember reading one description of the noble qualities of a boy whom I knew very well, and whose life has not realised the beautiful character predicted for him. The author complains that people of mature years are unaware that the phrenology of their youth has been wholly rejected by the scientific world of to-day, and he is sanguine that in the coming Century it will attain general acceptance, proving itself to be the true science of the mind and of practical use in education, self-discipline, the reformatory treatment of criminals, and the remedial treatment of lunatics ; and the persistent neglect during the last sixty years will be referred to as an example of the narrowness and prejudice of men of science. This is the opinion of one man, "Wallace *contra mundum* : " at any rate there will be fair play ; no favour, and no intolerance : if in 1836 the orthodox clergy deemed the science to be contrary to Scripture, they will hardly be bold enough to do so in the Twentieth Century.

XVI. Hypnotism, in its three subdivisions of thought-reading, clairvoyance, and mesmerism. The author deplores the opposition to this branch of knowledge, which has been in evidence since the beginning of this Century : he appears to lose all judicial equilibrium. I quote his final remarks in defence of his unsuccessful protégé : he forgets that all advocates of an unsuccessful cause use very much the same arguments : "The great lesson to be learnt is to distrust all *à priori* judgment as to facts : the history of the progress of "Human Knowledge, especially of Physical Research, renders "it certain that, whenever the scientific men or popular "teachers of any age have denied, on *à priori* grounds of impossibility, or opposition to the laws of Nature, the facts observed "and recorded by numerous investigators of average honesty "and intelligence, *these deniers have always been wrong*" (p.211). No confident 'my doxy,' theologians in the pulpit could sound the dogmatic trumpet clearer and louder.

XVII. Vaccination a Delusion. In a Chapter of 120 pages, a good-sized polemical pamphlet, the above thesis is discussed with a degree of bitterness and virulence which belong more to the faddist than the scientist. No doubt vaccination was the invention of the Nineteenth Century. I decline to discuss

it further : Time will show whether the practice should be maintained or abandoned.

XVIII. The evils attendant on civilization, as evidenced by the treatment of criminals in prison, of lunatics in asylums, by the existence of armies and navies, and by the system of rule of subject-Kingdoms. This chapter really is a strange divergence from the subject-matter of the Book, "The Wonderful Century," and with all due respect to the author, he wanders into subjects of which he can comparatively have slight practical knowledge. On the two first subjects I have been occupied for the last twenty years, as a member of a visiting Committee of Metropolitan Asylums and Prisons ; and though there is ample room for improvement, there is in their management nothing to be ashamed of. As regards the fourth subject, the Ruling of subject Nations, I have had long experience in British India, and the writer clearly has no personal knowledge. As regards the third subject, Armies and Navies, it is too large a one to be profitably dealt with except by military and naval experts.

XIX. The chapters on the Demons of Greed and Plunder of the Earth are a mere tirade against some of the lamentable features of the epoch : with very much that the author says I heartily agree ; but the subject is one for a separate treatise, and has no relation to the subject of this Essay, "The Wonderful Century."

As my object is to call attention to the great advance of knowledge, and wisdom which characterises the last three generations of the human race in civilized countries, I have ventured to subjoin certain additional subjects not alluded to by the Author :

- I. Widening of the thought of the Human Race.
- II. Geographical Discoveries.
- III. Religion in its widest sense.
- IV. Respect for rights of others : Universal Tolerance : Altruism, as opposed to Egoism.
- V. Absolute liberty to propagate Religious Doctrines not contrary to Morality.
- VI. Education of the Lower Classes : Power of the Press.
- VII. Public Hospitals : Medical Knowledge.
- VIII. Linguistic Knowledge.
- IX. Anthropological Knowledge.
- X. History and Archæology.
- XI. Criticism, Higher and Lower, of the Records of Past ages.
- XII. Sanitation.
- XIII. Machinery of all kinds, and the work of the Engineer.
- XIV. Zoology, Botany, and Mineralogy.

I. Widening of the thought of the Human Race. The literature of the day, the lectures in Universities and Learned Societies, the speeches on platforms, must convince us that there is a wonderful advance in all classes along the whole line of human thought.

II. Geographical Discoveries. No word need be said to illustrate this fact : the veriest schoolboy of Macaulay, or the child in the Board School, bears witness to this.

III. Religion in its widest sense. Let anyone consider what was known of the religious conceptions, ancient or modern, of the non-Christian World at the commencement of the present Century. The Missionary classed them all as the kingdom of Satan. Garbled and imperfect accounts were given in cyclopædias, or books of reference. As to the Sacred Books of each Religion, nothing was known. This is not the case now. Egypt and Assyria have given up their venerable records. The great book-religions of Asia are at least understood. The animistic religions which preceded them, or which are found at this day, are faithfully and impartially described ; and the whole story of the struggle of Man to find out God in all the ages, in all climes, and by all races, is revealed to our astonished minds.

IV. Respect for the rights of others, under the name of universal tolerance, has succeeded to the cruel and intolerant policy of Christian and Mahometan nations. The gentle precept which Asoka, King of North India (200 B.C.). published on his Tablets all over India, that each man should serve his Creator in the way in which he thought fit, is now the common law of civilized nations. It really represents Altruism as opposed to Egoism.

V. Absolute liberty to propagate religious doctrines is the natural corollary of the preceding principle, so long as the methods are peaceful, and not contrary to morality, and the laws of the particular country.

VI. Education of the lower classes at the expense of the State, or Municipality, by means of schools, and the teaching of a free and intelligent Public Press.

VII. Public Hospitals for the poor without charge : the maintenance of medical skill in the highest efficiency.

VIII. Linguistic Knowledge. Little was known at the commencement of this Century. I bought a linguistic book at Edinburgh, published in this Century by a man of repute in his time : he stated that there were about sixty-two forms of speech in the wide world, and that all came from Hebrew. This was the old Tower of Babel story. We know something very different now : that the number of mutually unintelligible forms of speech at this day in the world exceeds two thousand, and

that they belong to families with no possible connection with each other, as they are distinct and totally different outcomes of the brains of mankind. Some have died centuries ago, leaving a vast literature. Some are dying, being trodden down by the great vernaculars of the time, such as English; new languages are forming from the combination of different Languages which have come into contact. Each traveller brings home vocabularies of previously unknown forms of speech. In no branch of knowledge have wider additions been made than in linguistic science during the Nineteenth Century.

IX. Anthropological Knowledge. "The proper study of mankind is man." We have it on record beyond doubt, that the human race not only existed at a far earlier period than that which was previously received, but sprang from distinct seed-plots, differing materially in structure of body, colour, hair, yet still of the same "*Genus Homo*," and all with the two congenital gifts, (1) a Religious Instinct, or knowledge of a power greater than itself, and a desire to conciliate that power; (2) power of communicating with each other by articulate sounds; this indicates the dividing-line betwixt the "*Genus Homo*," and the rest of the animal reation.

X. History and Archæology. In these subjects the Nineteenth Century has made gigantic strides. A line has been drawn betwixt serious history and fanciful legend which passed as history. Excavations have revealed buried cities and tombs which had been entirely forgotten.

XI. The Divining Rods of the Lower and Higher Criticism. This is a new science, the creation of this Century. The Lower Critic examines the texts of ancient records of past ages, and under certain rules, based on experience, works out a text as pure as can be made by collation of scores of texts collected from totally different quarters. The Higher Criticism looks under the text, and weighs the possibility of inaccuracies of the copyist, introduction of new matter into an old record at a subsequent date, corrections made by later hands, errors of interpretation, and all the manifold causes of error to which manuscripts were liable before the introduction of printing.

XII. Sanitation. The very idea seems never to have suggested itself to our ancestors. A good fire, such as that of London, or a siege by a hostile force, did what was periodically required. It is different now: a great deal more in our great cities has to be done, but a great deal has been done. The Plague in Bombay and other parts of India brings the subject home to Indian administrators.

XIII. Machinery of all kinds for all purposes, and the work of the Engineer.

XIV. Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy. No words are required to illustrate the enormous advance of knowledge in these last subjects.

It must appear to any careful inquirer that no previous Century or cluster of Centuries can be compared as regards universal progress with the Nineteenth; but it may have a superior rival in the Twentieth, on the confines of which we stand.

ART. IV.—THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE KURNOOL DISTRICT.

THE objects of antiquarian interest in the Kurnool District may be classed as follows :—

1. Ancient Temples.
2. Ruins of Ancient Towns or Villages, Forts and Walls.
3. Large Irrigation Works, including Ruined Tanks.
4. Mosques and Tombs.
5. Ancient Stone Implements, Dolmens, Tumuli with or without Circle. Stone Circles
6. Inscriptions on Stone or Copper, Gudikat, or old Manuscripts.

The Temples may be grouped under three heads :—

1. Temples with elaborate carvings.
2. Temples, ordinary, consisting only of the usual three apartments, *viz.* ; (1) Where the idol is kept—(2) ; Where people stand to worship ; (3) The open hall forming the front part of the building. In some temples separate rooms are added for the female deities.
3. Small village temples, more or less primitive in style.

The most ancient Temple is that at Srisailam, which is situated on an inaccessible mountain plateau, overlooking the Kistna river. The ruined wells and tanks in the neighbourhood testify to the country around having once been in a prosperous condition. Srisailam was the residence of a Chief in the fifteenth century, and is said to have been deserted after the conquest of the country by the Mahomedans. The last remnant of the population, it is said, left it in the eighteenth century, when a band of robbers looted it.

In 1794 the Temple was visited by Colonel Colin Mackenzie, who has left a description of it in the " Asiatic Researches of Bengal for 1798." It is 660 feet long by 510 feet broad. The enclosure is of an oblong form, and is surrounded by thick walls, varying from 20 to 26 feet in height, built of hewn blocks of greyish stone, from 6 to 7 feet long by 3 feet high, exactly squared and laid together. The walls are elaborately sculptured. The first or lowest row of these stones is covered with figures of elephants harnessed in different ways, as if led in procession, many of them twisting up trees with their trunks. The second row represents horses and hunting scenes. Some horses are led ready saddled, which their manes ornamented ; others are tied up to pillars. While many others are ridden by horsemen, engaged in fight at full gallop, armed with

piques, swords and shields ; others are seen hunting tigers and running them through with long spears. " All these figures," says Colonel Mackenzie, " are accurately designed. It is remarkable that several figures are represented galloping off, as in fight, and at the same time drawing the bow at full stretch ; these Parthian figures seem to have entirely dropped the bridle, both hands being occupied by the bow. Some of them are seen advancing at full speed and drawing the bow at the same time."

In the third row a variety of figures are represented. Many of them are shown as hunting tigers, and in one place figures a lion attacked by several persons. Crowds of people appear on foot, some armed with bows and arrows like the Chenchus. Figures of Bairágis, or Jogis, are also seen, distinguished by large turbans, some carrying their sticks, pots and bundles, as if returning from a journey ; some leaning on their sticks, as if tired or decrepit from age ; others approaching with a mien of respect and adoration. The remaining rows are also filled with numerous carvings representing various scenes from religious books of the Hindus, the topmost row being cut into battlements. Among the figures may be noticed Brahma balancing Vishnu and Siva, and a figure of a naked female approaching the Lingam with a string of beads in her right hand, and a hand issuing forth from the Lingam.

In the centre of this enclosure is the Temple of Mallikarjuna, the chief deity worshipped here. It is square in form, with the usual Gópuram, or pyramid of steps, about thirty feet high. The walls and roof are covered over with brass plates gilded ; but the gilding, when I visited the place, was worn away. The plates are joined by smaller bars and lockets, so that they may all be taken off without damage. There are a few embossed figures of women and some small ornaments on the friezes of the doors, the panels of which are also plated. From an inscription it would appear that these gilded plates were presented in Sáliváhana Sakha, 1435 (A.D. 1513), by Krishna Déva Raya of Vijayanagar, on his return from his northern conquests. Opposite the Temple is a large Bull, a monolith, which, according to the popular belief, once ate Bengal gram.

The Temple is reached by three different routes : (1) from Atmakúr in the Nandikóthur Taluq, the residence of the Pujaris ; (2) from Bommalapuram in the Márkápúr Taluq ; and (3) from the Hyderabad territory. The Atmakúr road lies over a flat country as far as Nágaluti ; a distance of ten miles, and is by far the fittest for wheeled traffic. From Nágaluti the ascent commences by a stately flight of steps formed of rough stones, which leads to the top of a plateau,

where a small cluster of huts is occupied by Boyas and Chenchus, who cultivate some land under a tank. A short distance from here, the ground slopes down to a valley called Kollam, about 1,000 feet below the plateau. At the bottom of the valley is a shallow stream, which is easily crossed ; thence a flight of steps, with stones properly laid together, leads up to the top of the Srísailam plateau, where there was formerly a large archway called Kaśásadwáram (literally gate leading to Kailasa, or the heavens). From this to the Srísailam Temple we have a broad plain easy to travel. The other two roads are said to be difficult to travel.

The dates at which some of the buildings connected with the Temple were constructed, as ascertained from the inscriptions kept by the Jangam High Priest of Srísailam, are given below :—

- (1). The Mantapam in front of the Temple was built in 1293 (A.D. 1371) by Anavema Reddi.
- (2). The same Reddi built a large Mantapam in A. D. 1377.
- (3). Steps from Srísailam to Pátálaganga or the bed of the Kistna river were built, in 1315 (A.D. 1393), by Haripara Déva Maharaj, or his wife.
- (4). The South Mantapam was built and dedicated in 1326 (A.D. 1404) by Haripara Deva Maharajah.
- (5). The steps from the south gate of Sri Mallikarjuna's Temple were built in the year 1327 (A.D. 1405).
- (6). The flight of steps from the South Temple down to Durgá Déva was built in 1344 (A.D. 1422).

The Srísailam Temple is the most ancient and sacred in Southern India. It is situated on the high banks of the Kistna river in the midst of malarious jungles and rugged hills. Notwithstanding its inaccessibility, the pilgrims to Srísailam are numerous, and some of them come from Central Hindoostan.

The earliest record we have of this Temple relates to a visit by the Chalukya Prince, Trailokya, in A.D. 1058. It was richly endowed by Hindu princes and nobles, and was in a prosperous condition till the arrival, in the seventeenth century, of the Mohamedans who resumed Inams and levied a tax on pilgrims.

In the first year of the British Administration this tax amounted to Rs. 5,000 and odd. In 1840, when the Government ceased their connection with the temples, the pagoda was handed over to Sri Sankarácharya as its Warder.

AHOBILAM.

The original temple is a small pagoda not unlike the ordinary shrines.

In the fourteenth century, a fine Kalyána Mantapam—wedding hall—was built by the Reddies of Kondavidu. It is supported by sixty-four pillars, each of which is beautifully carved into several miniature pillars. In front of the temple is a fine unfinished Mantapam, with its large pillars made of white sandstone (said to have been brought from the Cuddapah district), about three feet in diameter and elaborately sculptured. Of this Mr. Ferguson, in his *Indu-European Architecture*, says :—

“It is a large unfinished Mantapum, in plan and design very like that of the temple of Vitoba, at Vijayanagar, but its style and details are so much more like those of the Náyaks that it must be at least a century more modern and could not therefore have been erected before the destruction of that Capital in A.D. 1565. The dynasty, however, continued to exist for one or two centuries after that time till the country was conquered by Tippu Sultan. It must have been by one of the expatriated Rajas that the Temple was erected, by whom even tradition is silent. Whoever might have built it, it is a fine, bold specimen of architecture, and if the history of the art in the south of India is ever seriously taken up, it will worthily take a place in the series as one of the best specimens of its age, wanting the delicacy and elegance of the earlier examples, but full of character and merit.”

Ahobilam is in the Sirvel Taluq and is the most sacred Vishnu Temple in the Kurnool district. It is thirty-five yards square, and the walls are fifteen feet high. It is dedicated to Narasinha, the man-lion avatar of Vishnu, which he assumed to destroy the tyrannical demon Hiranya Kasyapá.

The shrine consists of (1) the Diguva Ahobilam temple at the foot of the hills; (2) the Yegnon Ahóbilam temple, about four miles higher up on the Bhavanásí; and (3) a small pagoda at the top of the hills. These, with six other pagodas situated about the hill, form a group as Nava nine) Narasinha, representing nine different forms in which Vishnu exhibited himself.

DIGNOA AHOBILAM

is a small ordinary shrine; at Peddu Ahóbilam the idol is kept in a rock-cut cave, or rather a hollow caused by the denudation of a subjacent rock. Near it, in a verandah, is the Chenchu bride of the Swami, on whose account the Chenchus became the votaries of Vishnu and enjoy certain fees at the festival. Near to this is a deserted room of Vishnu's lawful wife, Lakshmi, who, being offended at her husband's faithlessness, went up to the hills and took up her abode on the top of the Momukonda peak. Here, upon one of the precipitous sides of a deep and dangerous ravine, is an iron pillar which barren women solicitous for children move round and adore.

The Vijayanagar Princes endowed the Temple with Inam villages and lands. Only some of these are now continued. The Government make an allowance of Rs. 350 in lieu of resumed lands and fees.

The Temple was plundered, and its valuable jewels were taken away by the Mahomedans of Golkonda in the seventeenth century and by Nawab Munauwar Khan in the latter part of the last century.

NAMMAL VARIKUNTA

a large tank with stone revetment, about 156 by 138 feet, is another monument of piety. It was apparently intended for the floating festival.

RAMATIRTHAM

is a few miles from Ahóbilam and is noted for a small pagoda called Puttalamma, or large anthill, which people worship with great reverence.

CHENNAKE SAVASWAMI

is held very sacred and has acquired local celebrity. The idol is said to have restored to life certain shepherds who had been beheaded, and made the heads talk. The first temple is said to have been established by a milk-maid, and the building erected during the reign of the Gajapatis in the fifteenth century. Its chunchus, or projecting ledges, are admired by natives as one of the seven curiosities in the Kurnool district. The other six curiosities are—

- (1). The Gópurum or tower of Venkatadripalem Temple.
- (2). Gaddé, or the altar of Tripuruntakam Temple.
- (3). The carvings in Millampalli Temple.
- (4). The watchs of the Arvitamma Well.
- (5). The women of Bommalapuram, as being once beautiful.
- (6). The Durbar seat in Errakondapálem.

THE MUKHA-MANTAPAM,

supported by forty stone pillars, is carved with the figures of Krishna, Anjanéyá, Garudá, Lakshmi, Vináyaká, with their Váhanás, or vehicles, such as elephant, lion, sarabha, sárdulá (tiger), chariots and drivers. One of the figures represented is that of a Mayámrigam, the upper half of which is in the form of a woman and the lower half in that of a beast. On two of the pillars opposite the idol are carved two beautiful gópurums which are much admired by natives, and to which they have given the epithet of "brothers" because of their striking resemblance to each other. In the four corners, as well as in the centre of the Mantapam several figures are depicted. On both sides of the doorway are several indecent figures; at the top are representations of Ráma cutting seven palm trees

with a single arrow, of the fight between Váli and Sugrivá, and of Ráma striking down Váli with five arrows.

THE SANGAMESVARAM TEMPLE

is at the junction of the Kistna and the Bhavanasi rivers. There is a small group of temples here, one of which has its Gópurum built in the form of a car. The idol is fabled to have been established by Bhima, one of the five Pandás. Once in twelve years the water of the two rivers is supposed to rise by the influence of Jupiter's entering the constellation Virgo, and a large number of pilgrims resort to the place on that occasion to wash away their sins by bathing in the sacred water. An annual festival is performed there on the day of Sivarátri.

MILLAMPALLI VENUGOPALASWAMI'S TEMPLE.

This temple was built in A. D. 1718 by a Prince of the Vijayanagar family, the idol being of still greater antiquity. In 1614 walls, porches and a gateway were built by a sister of the local Zemindar. In 1712 it was placed in charge of the Nabob of Arcot. There are several scenes represented in the temple.

TRIPURANTAKUM.

This is sacred to Sivá. It is a very ancient temple, and is locally known as the eastern gate of Srisailam.

There are several smaller temples in the Cumbum, Koilkuntla, Pattikonda, Nandial, and Pattikonda taluqs.

GUNDALA TEMPLE.

This is sacred to Chennakesava. It is an ancient temple elaborately carved. Among the numerous figures are those of an elephant and a buffalo artfully carved with a single head common to both, so that, if you cover with your hand the body of the one, you see the other in its full size. The Gopurum is one hundred and twenty feet high from the ground below, with five storeys. The building is so constructed that, by shutting the doors of the temple and letting light through a hole in the door, made for the purpose, you see the Gopurum reflected on the floor of the temple within.

RUINED VILLAGES, FORTS, ETC.

The fact that the country, abounding with several hills and valleys, was ruled for a very long time by independent chiefs accounts for the construction of the many forts and strongholds scattered over it. Almost every town has a fine fort and every village its own keep.

In 1847 a Captain Harris was deputed by Government to report on the hill forts of the Nallamalais and the Erramalais. They were reported not to be in good condition, and the Government did not think it necessary to incur any expen-

diture with a view to destroying them, but ordered the district officers to see that they were not strengthened or repaired. These forts in the district are all now in ruins. A brief mention will be made of some of the most important.

ALUTLA

in the northern Nallamalais is a hill fort eighty yards square built of stones. It was visited in 1855, by Captain Nelson, of the Invalid Army, who published some account of it and the country around in the *Madras Journal of Science*. He thinks the fort was erected to defend the ford of the river near there, but the people say it was intended as a fold for the cattle of the Poligar. Close by it lie the ruins of Daddanala, once the principal town of Zemindar Sáyappa. It was destroyed by the Mahomadans from Hyderabad in the sixteenth century, through, it is said, the treachery of the Brahman minister. The Chief being then absent, the females of his family, who were of the Kammá caste, shut up the fort and burnt themselves in it. The residence of the Chief was then transferred to Erragondapalam, where the durbar seat, a large stone on a raised dais, used on public occasions, is still to be seen. The generality of the people will not even now sit on it; so great is their veneration for the memory of their former princes.

Near Peddacherava, sixteen miles from Atmakur, are to be seen ruined forts and tombs which are evident indications of the country having once been in a flourishing condition.

THE SIDDAPUR FORT

is a pretty large square fort in tolerable order, with a zig-zag gateway. It was deserted in the time of the father of the late Nabob, in the beginning of the present century. A fine mosque is still in existence, as also the remains of a temple of Janárdana.

VELGODU FORT

Is all gone excepting the zig-zag gateway. It was built in the sixteenth century by a fugitive Zemindar from Golkonda, the ancestor of the present Raja of Vencatagiri. One of the bastions was known as that of the "seven sisters." The story goes that, in order to give permanence to the fort, seven daughters-in-law of the former sacrificed themselves with their children, one of them, who had no child of her own, carrying a pariah boy, Yachanna, whom she found in the street. In memory of this, the Zemindar's family is still known by the name of Yachanna, and respect is shown to the pariahs on the occasion of marriage in the Zemindar's family. The temple in the fort was pulled down and another

reconstructed. In the temple is kept a well polished stone, 6 feet by 3 feet by 3 feet. It is an inverted trough nicely fitted to a flat stone below, and when it had been filled with cold water the Zemindar used to lie upon it during the hot weather.

THE MUSALIMADUGU FORT,

on the banks of the Kistna River, is in pretty good order.

MURAVAKONDA

had a fine fort at the ford of the Kistna. It was repaired and improved by the late Nabob, but was dismantled during the Mutiny by General Whitlock's movable column.

THE KRISHNAGIRI FORT

is noted for its large elephant gateway. Here are found ruins of what is said to have been an ancient Jain settlement.

THE KURNOOL FORT

has been dismantled, except the gateway, which has been allowed to stand as a memorial of native workmanship.

THE KOTTAKOTA FORT

was erected on a little rocky eminence about A. D. 1749. There are still to be seen the remains of the very good fort ditch, which has been cut with no little trouble and care in the solid rock on which the fort stands. At the top of the highest tower there was still, in 1886, one of the old guns in excellent preservation, measuring about 14 or 15 feet long.

THE UPPALAPAD FORT,

on the Erramala plateau, is in ruins. There is an old gun of native make on one of its batteries.

THE VILLAGE KEEPS

are generally single bastions. Some of these were repaired during the famine as a means of protection from robbers.

MOSQUES AND TOMBS.

The principal Mosques and Tombs in the Kurnool District are the following :—

Abd-ul-wahab's tomb, in Kurnool, on the banks of the Handri. It was built in A. D. 1618, and consists of two domes, the workmanship of which is much admired.

JAMMA MUSJID,

in the fort, was built on the foundations of a Hindu temple, destroyed for the purpose.

In Jólapur there are numerous graveyards of Mahidhs, a peculiar sect of Mohamedans. In the Cumbum Village there are several Mussulman tombs and musjids.

DOLMENS, ETC.

In a letter to Government written in 1873 by a District Engineer, it was reported that, among other ancient remains, he had seen in the Kurnool District Tumuli, Dolmens, &c., with or without circle. Unfortunately he has not named the localities visited by him. Probably they are all to be found in the Cumbum division, where the Jains at one time flourished.

T. N. T.

ART. V.—AN INDIAN MISSIONARY.

JOHN DE BRITTO.

TOWARDS the end of the 17th Century, there ruled over the kingdom of Ramnad the illegitimate son of the last Sethupathi. He fought his way to the throne and kept it for a period of no less than six and thirty years. His name was Ragonatha, but by the soubriquet of "Kilavan" (Tamil for "old man") alone is he known in history. In the usual Oriental fashion as then prevailing, he conveniently disposed, by assassination, of the two principal men who had been instrumental in obtaining the throne for him. Fear lest the influence which had been so successfully exerted in his behalf might equally tell in favour of a rival, seems to have actuated him to cause the removal of neighbours possessed of such dangerous power; and the rival whom he most seriously dreaded was Jiriya Jevan, the rightful heir to the throne of Ramnad, set aside in favor of the Kilavan.

The kingdom of Ramnad, about the period we write of, was known as the Marava Country; and the year 1693 is notorious in connection with its history for the lamentable attack on Christianity which culminated in the martyrdom of the great Missionary John De Britto. Jiriya Jevan, the rightful heir to the throne, was then suffering from a serious malady, which De Britto succeeded in curing, and he was likewise successful in converting him to Christianity. Having been converted, Jiriya Jevan was called upon to practice monogamy, the rest of his wives being informed that all save one must thenceforth consider themselves his sisters. Naturally, the ladies of his harem looked upon such a resolution in the light of a deliberate insult, and strove to induce Jiriya Jevan to allow them at all events to live with him as his wives. But, finding their attempts futile, they resolved to revenge themselves on the author of their humiliation. In accordance with this determination, one of them, who was the niece of the Kilavan, took her way to the capital, and there prostrating herself at her uncle's feet, enquired whether she, a princess of a royal house, should be driven from her palace like a dog by a vile Porangi magician and impostor, and whether the ancient gods of her country were to be openly disgraced by a foreigner. Many tears and entreaties accompanied her words. The Sethupathi was moved to great anger, and wrote at once to Jiriya Jevan to arrest De Britto and destroy all his Churches. Dissatisfied with this concession, Kadalei the outraged niece of the Kilavan, enlisted in her

cause a certain Brahman named Pompavanam, notoriously hostile to De Britto. He, heading a deputation of Brahmans, represented that the progress of Christianity imperilled the kingdom, and that, though De Britto repeatedly and in set terms had been forbidden the kingdom, he yet taught and preached and converted. The argument of defiance to the Sethupathi's authority told most. It was an argument that could hardly fail to miss the mark, seeing that, if the Sethupathi did not interfere in time, the majority of the population would in a year or two become entirely Christian, and Jiriya Jevan, the Christian convert and rightful heir to the kingdom would then be in a position to remove the false Sethupathi from the throne which he had usurped.

Such was the irresistible force of the last argument that the Kilavan resolved upon instant action. His first thought was to make away with Jiriya Jevan. He accordingly sent for him and examined him regarding the allegations made against him. But here he was met with so bold a front that he was completely baffled. Not only did Jiriya Jevan unhesitatingly avow that he was a convert himself, but he further supplied the information that De Britto had long been preaching Christianity in the Maravar country and had made many converts, besides building four Churches. But Jiriya Jevan was too highly placed and the Kilavan's title too notoriously bad. Accordingly the Sethupathi resolve on wreaking on De Britto the vengeance he feared to inflict on his rival. The doomed man was seized at the village of Muni, chained, and, attached by long ropes to the saddle of a horse, ridden by a member of his escort, dragged rapidly along. Pitiably weak from ill-health as he was, De Britto's condition was such as to move a heart of stone ; but the hearts of his escort were of something harder, and every time he fell he was punished by an extra lash. On he stumbled ; but his weakness was fortified by the marks of touching sympathy shown by the Christians whom he met along the way. Having reached Hanumanthagudy, De Britto was taken to an open space where there was an enormous car to which he was tied, and then he was ordered to call upon the name of Siva. Refusing with a gesture of horror, he called upon the name of Jesus, when he was subjected to such tortures as his Master Himself had undergone. De Britto was now about to win and wear that crown of martyrdom which he had for years longed for.

On the 11th January he reached Ramnad and was cast into prison pending the arrival of the Sethupathi, who came to his capital shortly after to deal with his victim. Jiriya Jevan also was in Ramnad and exerted his influence to save his friend. For some time nothing was decided upon. Many considera-

tions swayed the mind of the Sethupathi. De Britto was commonly held to be a magician, and, though the Brahmans sought to get rid of him by magical incantations, yet he lived, so that a superstitious dread of offering deadly violence to his victim strongly operated on the Sethupathi's mind. Then, again, Jiriya Jevan's persistent efforts to save his friend were not to be lightly disregarded ; while, finally, it was open to doubt whether the judicial murder of their chief guru would not excite unpleasant disturbances amongst the Christians who were so numerous in his dominions. So at last the Sethupathi meanly resolved to carry out his wishes through an agent on whom would devolve the odium and responsibility of the deed. Accordingly he issued a proclamation to the effect that De Britto was banished from his kingdom ; and he forthwith sent him under escort to his brother, the Governor of Oriûr, a fortress on the northern frontier, situated on the river Pambâr. But he forgot not to send with him a secret order directing the execution of the foreign priest.

De Britto arrived at Oriûr on the 31st January, and his martyr's soul rejoiced when he was informed that he was to be beheaded. The execution of his sentence was, however, delayed for three days. The Governor's chief wife, who was a Christian, interposed in his behalf ; but, on the other hand, the Minister, who was a sworn enemy to Christianity, was as fervent in demanding the death of De Britto as his protectress was in demanding his release. The Governor, who appears to have been a weak man with no resolution, was at last prevailed upon by the Minister to order the sentence to be carried into effect. De Britto was accordingly taken and beheaded. His limbs were severed, and, with his head, hung up as a warning to the Christians. Indeed, such was the hatred of his enemies that his mutilated remains were denied burial and given to the birds of the air and the beasts of the field ; and it was only after repeated endeavours that the members of his flock succeeded in evading the vigilance of the Maravar Guards and gathered together for burial his skull and a few of his bones. Thus perished this Indian Missionary, one of the greatest of a glorious band trained by the Church of Rome for the greater glory of God.

The murder of De Britto, instead of impeding the cause of Christianity as was expected, only helped to advance it. His heroic and steadfast example inspired converts with a desire to emulate his fidelity. And the report of miracles, real or supposed, performed through the medium of his blood shed on the sands of Oriûr, stirred up the lukewarm and caused those who wavered to adhere to the faith. Even those who were not Christian viewed with disapproval the needless cruelty with

which a guru had been treated and showed sympathy to some extent for his followers. Finally, both the Governor of Oriôr and his minister came to horrible and mysterious ends within a twelvemonth after the martyr; and their deaths were not unnaturally attributed to the anger of an offended deity.

The successor of this Governor was the eldest son of the Kilavan. He seems to have been of a liberal turn of mind, and encouraged pilgrimages to the martyr's shrine, allowing no toll to be levied; and even to the present day pilgrimages are made to De Britto's shrine on the anniversary of his martyrdom.

A few incidents of the career of this remarkable man may not be unacceptable to our readers. The 1st March 1647 saw the birth of Jean Hector De Britto at Lisbon. For distinguished services, his father, Don Salvador De Britto Pereyra, obtained, as a reward, the appointment of Governor of Rio Janeiro, which he had held for only two years when he died. His widow, Donna Beatrix Pereyra, now controlled the education of her children, and, being a woman of a high order of intellect and of a strong religious turn of mind, did so effectually. Into the youthful mind of the future martyr she inculcated such lessons as filled him with the noblest sentiments and protected him from the innumerable temptations that beset one of his noble birth in a court both gay and luxurious. Pedro IV had formed the resolution of training under his own eye a band of noble youths to become, in due course, ministers and counsellors of rare ability and strong attachment to the throne. Into this band of young nobles De Britto was admitted, and amongst them he at once attained distinction by reason of his simple high-toned manners, his lovable disposition, and the striking elevation of thought that he displayed. Jesuit Masters taught him, and he proved an apt pupil. Owing to the devotion he paid to the study of the lives of great Missionaries, and more particularly to that of Francis Xavier, he even thus early gained the soubriquet of the martyr. Later on, notwithstanding his mother's discouragement and the opposition of the Infanta and the Queen Regent, he withdrew himself from the society of his fellows to enter the house of noviciate on the 17th December, 1272. His idea of becoming a Jesuit, and, above all, a Missionary thus bore its first fruit. So full of ardour and devotion was he that he quickly earned for himself the character of being the most orderly, pious and charitable of that self-denying fraternity, while, by the enthusiastic prosecution of his studies he rapidly became an accomplished scholar. At length notwithstanding his mother's tears and the interference of the King, he sailed for India as a Missionary in 1673. Reaching Goa, he completed his theological studies and passed the *ad gradum* examination

In the following year he commenced his Missionary career, being attached to the Madrasa Mission. For many years he worked most industriously, and his efforts were crowned with such success that in 1683 he became Superior of the Mission. So peculiarly happy were the results of his administration that his zeal and ability attracted the attention of his superiors, who, in 1686, appointed him Procureur de la Mission. His new appointment compelled his retirement from India ; and when he returned to Europe, his sovereign, the highest dignitaries of the Church, the Universities and illustrious scholars vied with one another in according him the most flattering marks of esteem and consideration. But De Britto never lost sight of his intention to return to India to renew his Missionary efforts ; and all honours were respectfully but firmly declined. At last he was permitted to go back, and was offered the Archbishopric of Cranganore. Declaring that Missionary labor was that in which alone he could engage with delight and profit, he declined this offer ; and in 1691 he once again began his work as a Missionary this time in the Maravar country. Persecution was rife, and De Britto's sufferings from 1692 till his death were without intermission. Such was the life of this heroic preacher, fitly crowned by the martyrdom to which from his earliest youth he had aspired.

E. H. B.

ART. VI.—NORWEGIAN LITERATURE.

AT the present time there is, perhaps, no author on whose productions the attention of the world is more concentrated than on those of a Norwegian dramatist. An increased interest has arisen for the literature of the land that gave him birth, and this interest is enhanced by the fame of a national poet whose works are almost as widely known. We propose to trace briefly the origin and development of this new and vigorous literature.

In a remote island of the Atlantic Ocean some ancient chieftains of Norway sought a new home in the ninth century, when their uncontrolled freedom was encroached upon by Harold-the-Fairhaired, who united their mother-country under his sceptre. They founded a republic in Iceland, where literature was cultivated with success, and, in one of its branches, attained an excellence that in the North has not been surpassed. The Icelandic colonists were also intrepid sailors who, navigating the adjacent ocean, knitted intimate relations with Celtic countries and especially with Ireland, which was then the refuge of learning; and the literary culture of which according to late researches seems to have had no little influence in Iceland.*

The fact that Icelandic chiefs were often priests forming a kind of theocracy, was favourable to letters and the development of the national tongue. While in most European countries at that time literature was limited to the universal language of Rome, if we except a few poems and ballads that were written in the untutored idioms of the young nations, histories were written in Norse that are masterpieces of style, and are still the models of great writers. For strength and sobriety of narrative, mastery and wealth of details, there are few modern histories that can compare with them.

Yet in Norway itself literature was comparatively neglected at this period. Even its national chronicles were written in Iceland, and the songs of Norwegian scalds were preserved by Icelandic scribes. The poetic art was cultivated with greater ardour, and attained a higher perfection in that island than in all the other countries peopled by Scandinavians. At the court of Norwegian kings, so long as his art flourished, there was always a scald, who was generally an Icelander, to sing the monarch's fame—his *drapa*—, to chant the exploits of his ancestors and of his family, and to enliven the

* Gudbr. Vigfusson : *Sturlunga Saga*.

banquet hall. The *drapa* was of great importance to history, as it described historical events, though, as might be expected, it was not very reliable. Saga-writers often had recourse to this class of composition, and quoted its verse. Love was seldom the principal theme of song. Lampoons were frequently composed; but shield songs were the most in fashion. It was the custom of princes to present a shield—in general elaborately carved and ornamented—to the scald on whom they conferred their favour, and the latter, in return, would compose a chant on the subject of the carvings. His poetic art was held in such high honour that the most famous kings of Norway, like St. Olaf and Harold-the-Hard, did not disdain to be enrolled in his fraternity.

The oldest collection of Norse poems that has been preserved is "The Older Edda," or Soemund's Edda, which is called after the Icelandic priest who collected them at the beginning of the 12th century. The exact date of their composition is uncertain; but it was evidently during a period when Iceland was still heathen—at intervals between the years 850 and 1050 A.D. The term *Edda*, which derives from *Odhr*, a poem, originally signified a treatise about the art of poetry, and does not rightly apply to the above. 'The Younger Edda' was written by Snorre Sturluson, the celebrated Saga-writer and chief who lived in Iceland in the same century, [and owes its name to the treatise it contains, and to the fact that it was written after Soemund's composition. Both Edda include the most valuable accounts of Norse mythology. In the 'older,' or 'Soemund's,' the poem 'Voeluspá' contains the Sibyll's prediction and a description of chaos before creation. It was composed in the short alliterative metre then in fashion. An accented word in each line of a couplet generally began with, or contained, the same letter, or one with a similar sound, while the employment of two words in the second line in accordance with this rule was optional. As an example we cite a part of the description of chaos :

"At dawn of days
Then there was nought,
Nor sand, nor sea,
Nor billows cool.
There was no earth,
Nor heaven high ;
—A gaping void.
The grass grew not,
E're sons of Bors*
Slung up the earth ;

* The god Odin and his brothers.

They Midgaard built,
 The beautiful ;
 The sun shone south
 O'er stony ground,
 There grew on earth
 Green plants and shrubs."

The Sibyll predicts Ragnarok,—the last dreadful battle between the gods and giants, between the good and evil ruling powers of the universe, in which the former succumb.

"Sun is darkened,
 Earth sinks in sea ;
 So from Heaven fade
 The shining stars.
 How fire and smoke
 Furious rage !
 High leaps the flame
 To highest Heaven !"

The scaldic art attained its greatest perfection in the 11th century—its Augustan Age—and declined in the 12th, through the artificiality of its votaries. Their poems were then overloaded with metaphor, or more accurately, with poetic periphrases that were called *Kenningar*. Finally poetry seems to have succumbed under their weight. All directness of expression was gradually lost, and even the gods were deprived of their names. Among other periphrases for Thor, we find "The gods' terrible friend" and "The giants' prover." For For Midgaards serpent, in Norse mythology the serpent that encircled the world, we find "the earth's ring" and "the earth's stiff belt." "The brows' inner moon" denotes Thors' eye.

The oldest historical production in the Norse language was the 'Islandingabok,' which, as its name indicates, concerned Iceland. It was written by Ame Frode (the learned), in the 11th century. Though it is very short, consisting of only ten chapters, each of which contains but two pages, it is very important as a historical source, and has considerable merit as regards style. Most of the *Saga*, which is a general term for all Norse prose narratives, treated of Iceland, and through them we have ample information about the life and institutions of ancient Scandinavian society. The Romantic *Saga* have a sensational interest. In Erik Skallagrimson's we find the typical Norman who was at the same time an athlete, warrior, sea-rover, and scald. In 'Grete's' we are touched by the misfortunes of the hero, an unhappy victim of fate. The latter is still the favourite *Saga* of Icelanders.

Snorre Sturufuson surpassed all his contemporaries as a writer of historical *Saga*. He was a great Icelandic chief, and the

head of a powerful family. He was a man of the world, versed in the art of governing, who ruled his native island for some time. He was familiar with the courts of kings, and himself played a part in Northern history. He was wily and shrewd and not too scrupulous. He admired heroism more than virtue, and was not directly a moralist. An author, lately dead, a distinguished critic, who wrote an excellent history of Norwegian literature,* held that Snorre, in the character of Norse historian, filled a place that is not dissimilar to Shakespeare's in the English drama. "Snorre," he wrote, "is from the first a critic; he does not relate anything without believing that he has an historical authority. His task is not to record what was said to have happened; he tries with all his power to recount what happened in reality. Later historical research has demonstrated that he has made mistakes, but such were inevitable then, and cannot be laid to Snorre's blame. The competent criticism, which he employed, of his predecessors, should rather be admired. His 'Saga of the Norwegian kings' is, from an historical point of view, the best and most solid work we possess about the old time, and for historians is a source of greater value than the Roman history of Titus Livius is for the students of the history of ancient Latium. Snorre is more of a rationalist than Titus Livius." "He describes the miracles he cannot omit in such a way that he does not appear to guarantee his statement. He is not nearly so advanced a rationalist as the author of 'Tageskinna.†' But he has the same tendency, and in this respect understands how to choose a happy middle course, that includes what is characteristic of the mode of thought of the period described, and what influences historical development, without mere gossip about legends. His rationalism is already pronounced at the commencement of his 'Ynglinga saga.‡' Odin and the other gods are not, in his eyes, mythical conceptions created through the people's religious needs, but ancient kings and chiefs whom legends, in the lapse of time, have altered and embellished. In this respect he has a certain affinity with the eighteenth century view of myths and legends, a view which the vast research of our century in this field has stamped as unscientific."

Snorre's style has been taken as a model in our time; it was not till Ibsen had made a profound study of the Saga of the Norwegian king that he wrote a great drama; and even in the idyllic romances of Bjørnsen, the national poet, we hear an echo of the Icelandic's voice.

* Henrik Jøger: *Illustreret Norsk Literatur historie*: Christiania.

† An historical Saga, written in Iceland, by an unknown author.

‡ Saga of a race of kings said to have ruled both in Sweden and Norway.

After the Saga period, which ended in the thirteenth century, when Iceland lost its independence, and came into the permanent possession of Norwegian kings, for long centuries little was written in the old language of Norway* that has any literary value. Yet ballads, legends and fairy tales were composed, and preserved orally, till they were collected and written down by researchers of our century. The ballads of Norway are not so wealthy as those of Denmark, whose literature in this respect has the foremost place in the North. Ballads relating to chivalry were not so general in Norway; but mythical and heroic ones were the most frequent. They often concern the person of St. Olaf—the national hero and canonized king—who seems to have usurped the rôle held by Thor, among the gods of the older Edda. Norwegian fairy tales are still popular in our day, thanks to the labours of Asbjørnsen and Moe, who have saved these admirable stories from oblivion. Though some of them have features that are common to such productions among Aryan races, they have an intensely national stamp. The most popular type of character in these “Folkeeventyr” is Askeladen *alias* Askefusen, or Tyripons, all of which names denote the hero’s intimate connection with the domestic hearth, where the duty of keeping up the fire devolves upon him. He is the youngest of the brothers and occupies a despised and insignificant position in the household. Still he is a genius with both heart and head. When at last the occasion presents itself, he is transformed into a hero, and at the same time gives proof of his dexterity and ready wit.

Popular legends also are full of St. Olaf, whose axe has replaced Thor’s hammer, while his famous charger has been substituted for the rams of the God. In the historical legends it is, of course, very difficult to separate truth from falsehood. There is frequent reference to superstitious beliefs, with countless giants and gnomes, elves and sprites. Among supernatural beings we find ‘*Oskoreien*,’ who are spirits that have not done so much good as to merit Heaven, or so much evil as to deserve Hell. Among them were found drunkards, brawlers, lampoon singers and deceivers. Their punishment after death was to ride till the world’s end. It is especially at Christmas that their wild gallop flies past. Welhaven, one of the greatest Norwegian poets, has written a spirited poem on this subject; but he has erroneously made the gods take part in the Christmas ride.

* The ancient language of Norway, called Norse by English, and *old nordisk* or *norrøne* by native writers, was the original and purest form of the Scandinavian family of languages; it retained its purity longer in Norway than in Sweden and Denmark, where it was corrupted through its blending with German dialects.

At the close of the fourteenth century Norway was united to Denmark through hereditary succession. It was gradually reduced to a subordinate position. The Norse language was officially replaced by the Danish, which became the literary medium, after the Bible had been translated into it. When the reformation had been forced upon Norwegians, native laws were gradually discarded in favour of Danish ; but feudalism, that struck firm root in Denmark, never prevailed in Norway. Land was held on an allodial tenure, and the peasantry had almost an unrestricted ownership. In their farmhouses and cottages they talked in the ancient and impressive tongue of their country, or in dialects that resembled it ; and after their native nobility and chiefs had in part died out, and in part decayed, when they were administered by Dano-German officials, this sound kernel of the peasantry preserved the nationality that has so effectually asserted itself in the present century.

For a long period, however, few Norwegian authors attained distinction in their new language, which differed considerably from Norse. The names of some minor poets, as well as their productions, have been saved from complete oblivion ; but it was not till Peter Daas wrote "Nordland's Trumpet," about the close of the seventeenth century, that Norway could boast of a native poet, though song had always been loved and cherished there. He was a local poet whose genius was racy of the soil, or rather of the sea on which he passed his life. The son of an immigrant Scotchman, Peter Dundas (corrupted into Peter Daas, in his adopted country), he was born in Helgeland, a maritime district of the province of Nordland, where he subsequently became a pastor. In his poem he has depicted the life led by his parishioners and the main features of their land. His verse is quaint and picturesque with a little of the freshness of nature. He pathetically refers to the dependence of his flock on the sea.

"And if, dear Lord, thou should'st withdraw thy hand,
And bar the cod and all fish from the land,
Our miserable end would soon be near !"

The perils of a pastor's existence in that wild district are recounted. He has several churches where he must hold divine service in turn ; they are often built on islands, whither he must sail on dangerous seas in stormy weather :

"And oft it haps, the preacher is drowned,
He finds a grave in the deepest sound,
To close his eyes, where the fishes swim !

"A servant of God, what should he mind,
That a tomb his clay should be assigned,
Which no mortal eye shall e'er behold !"

Norway's first great man of letters was partly a contemporary of Peter Daas. He was the famous dramatist, Holberg, who was born at Bergen, in 1684. His career was one of the most extraordinary among authors. He inherited a love of travelling from his father, who had been a soldier of fortune. When he was still a youth, he sold the last remnant of his property and made his way to Holland. After a precarious existence of some months in that country, he borrowed with difficulty sufficient money to return home. He had passed through the ordinary curriculum of the University of Copenhagen; but his real education was derived from his travels, during which he continued an eager student. After a short interval, in which he found employment as a tutor in his native land, he left the latter for the last time, at the age of twenty. He sailed to England, and entered his name as a student at Oxford, where he maintained himself by teaching languages and music. It was there that he began to obtain that insight into men and things that made him in reality a citizen of the world. He familiarized himself with English letters and English philosophy. His eyes were opened to the advantages of the latter. He was an admirer of Locke, and held in great aversion scholasticism and metaphysical systems. He had learnt to read the world and disdained the affectation of knowledge. On leaving Oxford, of which he had the pleasantest reminiscences, he took up his residence at Copenhagen, at whose university he became a professor. Subsequently he made a long sojourn in France and Italy, where he underwent some painful vicissitudes, and studied their culture and literature.

He had approached the age of thirty before he published his first work entitled "Introduction to the History of the European Kingdoms." Its style was lively and interesting. He had a higher idea of history than his contemporaries. He held that it should be a chronicle of civilization and not merely of kings and battles. His "History of Denmark," which appeared after he had attained to fame as a dramatist, is his historical work. But he was fettered by a rigid State censorship, so that he could not express his opinions freely. After he had returned from his "*Grand Tour*," he published an important philosophical treatise entitled, "Introduction to the Knowledge of Natural and International Law," in which he referred to the writings of Grotius, Puffendorf, and Thomasius, and approved their revolutionary teaching about the origin of natural law. He showed himself to be an innovator in the philosophy of law as well as in history. It excited the animadversion of the ecclesiastical authorities, and brought him into disfavour with the ruling members of the University. It was about this period that he was in such extreme poverty as to be

reduced to accept alms from the poor box of his Parish Church. At last, in 1818, it was his fate to be appointed to the chair of scholastic metaphysics, a subject that he detested and despised. Yet it was probably owing to the same subject that he became famous in the world. The disgust and aversion it inspired him with, found relief in poetry and satire. He was freed from the more pressing necessities of existence, and the laughable side of a world in which he had suffered so much, now particularly struck him. The empty disputes, held in solemn earnest, at which he presided in person, excited his sense of ridicule :

“ With syllogisms quiv’ring you saw the close-packed hall,
The outstretched arm, while oft the tight-clenched fist would fall ;
The salt drops trickled from the learned brow.— ”

“ Theological dissertations were at that period held with a view to determine whether the angels were created on one of the six days, and about Christ’s tunic ; philological theological dissertations about Lot’s wife’s transformation into a pillar of salt, about Absalom’s hair, Nebuchadnezzar’s metamorphosis into an ox, etc., etc. It was immediately after some such useful discussion that Holberg probably wrote his first great satirical poem.”

The latter recounts the adventures of Peter Paars, after whom it was entitled. He was a worthy young grocer, who sailed from the good town of Callundberg with a view to pay a visit to his *fiancée*, a maid servant in the service of a family residing at a little distance. He was accompanied by his clerk, Peter Ras. But the goddess of envy was so angered at the thought of the lovers’ meeting, that she hastened to Æolus, and finally persuaded him to let loose the winds. A storm burst upon the travellers. The masts fell overboard, and the ship was doomed to destruction. Peter Pars, however, showed himself in an heroic light, and bravely exhorted the sailors until sea-sickness overwhelmed him. His clerk followed his example with the same result. “ It was a fearful gale and a poetic storm.” At last the goddess of Love took pity on them. She flew to Neptune and complained. Yielding to her entreaties, the sea-god addressed the winds in a thundering discourse and compelled them to creep into their mountain again. But it was too late ; the ship had been driven on land, though none of the crew perished. The author then describes the fate of the hero and his companions on the little island of Anholt, where they were shipwrecked. They underwent many dangers, were plundered by the natives, fought an heroic combat, and were finally imprisoned. Their misfortunes were aggravated through the superstitions of the islanders. At last kind Venus came again to the rescue of her *protégé*, and inspired the daughter of

the sheriff, in whose house he was a prisoner, with a passion for him. The love-stricken maiden aided him and his clerk to escape, but, like Dido, she was abandoned on the sea-shore, and witnessed the ship that carried her Æneas vanish in the distance. He reached Jutland in safety, where he met with further extraordinary adventures. He was confined in a madhouse and enrolled as a soldier by a wily recruiting officer, etc. The poem was left intentionally unfinished, and abruptly terminates when Peter Paars is on the point of finding consolation for all his sufferings in the arms of his betrothed.

It has a triple satiric range; it parodied the stereotyped classical metaphor, with which no Danish poet, at least, who respected himself, could at this period dispense; the artificial sentiments, exalted rank and high flown language of the heroes and heroines of classical French tragedy—a worthy young grocer is substituted for the conventional Marquis, and a servant maid for the noble dame—and lastly the small superstitions and defects of his adopted country. Holberg chose the island of Anholt as typical of Denmark. He covertly ridiculed the somewhat restricted and narrow-minded society of that little country, and he struck at the same time a smart blow against its deficiencies.

Peter Paars, as soon as it was published, attracted the greatest attention, and ran through several editions. It won the applause of the partisans of modern literature—the comparative merit of modern and classical letters was precisely at this epoch a subject of eager controversy—; but it excited the anger of the inhabitants of Anholt and the University authorities. The former denounced it as a mendacious calumny, and the latter as an attack on religion and their *Alma Mater*. An accusation was brought against the author and handed in to the royal council. After a long deliberation, in which the king took part, the charge was dismissed as not meriting “resentment” or “high punishment.”

The caprice of a foreigner was the immediate occasion of Holberg's first comedy. A French theatrical director, who resided at Copenhagen, took it into his head to make trial of a Danish play. At that date there was no national theatre in Denmark, which was only visited occasionally by a travelling French or German Company. So Holberg wrote, in the year 1712, “The Coffee-house Politician,” which was excellently played with the help of some French actors, acquainted with the Danish language. It was a scathing and amusing satire against the taste for political discussion that had become general among all classes of society at the commencement of the eighteenth century. It was the more ridiculous in Denmark and other arbitrary monarchies, where

people who had no influence on the destiny of their native land, undertook to decide the fate of Europe, to the neglect of their business and households. Holberg was the more incensed against these would-be politicians, that they often included project-makers and their victims. This was the period of the South-sea bubble and Law's financial schemes, which had ruined thousands.

At that stage of Denmark's history the capital was so little Danish in character that a national drama could not thrive ; for the upper classes and court talked in German, and plays acted in that language were preferred. Within five years after the appearance of "The Coffee-house Politician," the theatre became bankrupt, on which occasion Holberg wrote the Danish Comedy's Funeral. When Christian VI. ascended the throne, in 1830, the narrow-minded religious views of his court prevailed to such an extent that the theatres were closed by order of the Government, and thus Holberg's great career as a dramatist was brought to an abrupt conclusion. When the king died, and the theatres reopened, sixteen years later, his great powers had declined. The six comedies he then wrote showed none of his former talent. His title to fame rests upon his dramas ; yet he was almost forty years of age before he composed his first comedy, while he wrote his last great one in the hey-day of his life. In the short space of five years he wrote sixteen plays that have won a permanent place in literature. In the latter period of his life he wrote several histories ; a prose satire on the model of 'Gulliver's Travels ;' "Moral Tales" that were remarkable for the broad religious views they contained, and 'Epistles' which are almost autobiographical in character and contain most interesting references to contemporary society in Copenhagen.

Perhaps the most popular of his plays is "Jeppe of the Mountain." It is rather a comedy of human nature than a satire. He has here described with inimitable humour and truth a Danish peasant, but belonging to a type which time and reforms have completely modified. Dr. Georges Brandes, the well-known Danish critic, maintains that in this play he has given us a brilliant and all-sided portraiture of character that resembles Shakespeare's. "When we have read the play," wrote Henrik Jøger, "we know the man as though we had lived near him for years. We learn not only that he drinks, but why he drinks, and all his household cares and concerns. . . . We have a moving impression of his love for his children, and his domestic animals, from the apple of his eye, 'daughter Martha,' to 'Feyerfax,' his faithful hound and house-guard ; from his dappled horse, about which he says that "next my own children I have loved no beast so well as thee," to Mew, the black cat,

for which he has a farewell message at the moment he believes he is to die.

In "Jean de France," which is still a household word throughout Scandinavia, he has wittily mocked the affectation of foreign habits and speech in a period of Gallomania. In "Jacob von Tibboe" he has satirised a type of swaggering soldiery then common in Denmark, where German mercenaries tyrannized the good citizens of Copenhagen. But he took care to make Jacob a pretended soldier, and thus saved himself from the persecution of brothers-in-arms. In "Ulysses von Ithaca" he parodied German comedy, and at the same time made the divinities and heroes of antiquity play an amusing rôle in the Danish capital.

Holberg was weary of the constant intrusion of classic myths in modern literature. "Paris pronounces his judgment like a Danish pettifogger, and Juno and Pallas pay their fines as Copenhagen market women, who have indulged in rude abuse." Holberg preferred to choose his characters in the lower ranks of society. The higher classes and court circle were so German, that he could not find in them either national or natural types, with whose help he could effectually moralise, or reason soundly. He was, above all, the dramatist of good sense and sound reason, who, in Copenhagen and the north, continued the work of Moliere, without plagiarising. He adapted some of the characters in the plays of Plautus and Terence, and he was indebted to Athenian comedy; but he was not the less original. He was also a great literary reformer, who refined the language and rendered the ponderous classical imitations of the time ridiculous. He was a great observer, and his "Epistles" contain the best account of contemporary society. He accepted the title of baron at the close of his life, but it is said only with a view to raise the status of literary men, of whom he was most distinguished representative in the North. Both Norway and Denmark claim him, and his character was essentially Norwegian, though his culture was European, and his habits of life were Danish.

After Holberg's death, which occurred in 1754, German influence in literature increased in strength. German literary men were invited to the Danish Capital by royalty, and among them was Klopstock, the first great romantic poet of his country. The author of the "Messias" found an apt pupil in a young Danish poet, John Ewald, who became the chief representative of the romantic school of poetry in Scandinavia. He was not without genius and had great imaginative gifts, but he was not free from the inflation and exaggerations of his model. He wrote several plays that have won a high place in literature. His poetry induced much adverse criticism, as

well as admiration, and Norwegians, whose culture was rather English and French than German, were among the first to protest against a foreign tendency that seemed incompatible with their national genius.

Meanwhile a new poet had appeared. He was Tullen, a native of Christiania, where he lived and wrote. He was a popular member of the Norwegian capital's society, which at that time was gay and wealthy, if somewhat restricted. It was permeated with a strong Anglomania in which the poet shared. He acquired a taste for English poetry, which he admired and imitated. Holberg had introduced English thought into the common literature of Norway and Denmark, and now Tullen brought English poetry into fashion. His most famous composition was a descriptive poem, entitled "May-day." He has been called "The Evangelist of Nature," and he was the first essentially descriptive poet of the two countries. His model was Thomson, the author of "The Seasons," who was the precursor of the natural school of poetry on the Continent. "May-day" marked a complete change in the common literature. Its chief merits were its simplicity and clearness, which contrasted favourably with the artificial style of the time, and the clouded metaphors of the new romanticism. It has not retained its popularity to the present time, for it has an old-fashioned flavour that is now scarcely acceptable.

When Tullen wrote, Copenhagen contained many Norwegian residents, and its University was frequented by Norwegian students. They distinguished themselves by a national spirit and sentiment that increased in strength, though they were extremely loyal to their Danish kings. Following the custom of the time, they formed coteries and frequented coffee-houses. When a Danish society was founded for the promotion of "the fine and useful sciences," the Norwegians imitated this example and established, in the year 1772, "The Norwegian Society," with a view to defend their own literary opinions, and to resist the influence of Ewald and his school. Welhaven has thus referred to the literary situation in Copenhagen at this period :

"With Ewald's appearance there began a new competition between both peoples' representatives. The Norwegian Holberg, though he had not completely cast off his nationality, still only asserted it occasionally, while he often expressed his sense of obligation to the people in whose midst he could develop a remunerative activity. Amid the universal homage paid to his name, it cannot be perceived that contemporary Norwegians prided themselves on his fame, or claimed for Norway his merits. But now another Norwegian marked a turning point in letters. All Danes even recognized that Tullen was at the

head of the poetry of the common language. But this did not last long. Ewald's fame began to cast Tullen's into the shade, and, indeed, long before people could free themselves from the prevailing taste that had given the Norwegian poet the prize. . . . In reality the Norwegians were not against Ewald—many of their society recognized his genius—, but they were opposed to the third-hand imitators of Klopstock, who belonged to the Danish society. The Norwegians who struggled against German literary influence were the precursors of their national literature.”*

Another society of Danes, called “The Danish Society,” was established ; it was formed principally to defend Ewald and his school, but it also contributed to develop a national Norwegian literature in opposition to its views.

Let us enter or fancy that little tavern, in a back street of Copenhagen, where “The Norwegian Society,” that kernel of a resuscitated nationality, held its meetings. In a room full of tobacco smoke and the fragrance of punch, we should find the president of the society reading from a large register, called the ‘Verse Protocol,’ one of the poetic effusions weekly contributed, while the exhilarated audience proffered its criticism and adjudged the prize. Among their number we should be struck by the imposing figure of Nordal Bruuin, the future patriotic bishop and lyric, who had just written a tragedy, to show his wit, and had been hailed as a great poet by Nils Bredahl, who had helped to reform the common language, and had written in it the first singing play and had excited a celebrated theatre-feud ; Fasting, the clever epigrammatist and play writer, who denounced kings, and defended liberty ; the brothers Fremann, who were almost the first to appreciate the picturesque features of Norway, and above all by John Wessel, the soul and life of the new society, which was permeated with his spirit. His bright, clear intellect, with its keen sense of ridicule, was the mainstay of the Norwegian literary battle that was waged with German obscurantism. Yet it was against a French mania that his most important work, the comedy entitled “Love without Stockings,” on which his chief title to fame rests, was written. At that juncture French tragedy had begun to come into vogue in Copenhagen under a Danish cover. It became the fashion there when it was being discarded in Paris. Voltaire's ‘Zairé’ had been translated, and had had a great success on the stage, Bruuin had just written his tragedy, ‘Zarin,’ after the same pattern. But this was more than Wessel could endure. Six weeks after Zarin had been received with applause, he wrote his famous comedy, turning the affectation

* Welhaven : Samlede Skrifter : Kjøbenhavn.

and sentiment of French tragedy into ridicule, while the people joined in his laugh.

In his comedy of "Love without Stockings," Wessel followed the example of his great predecessor, Holberg, whose plays replaced the drama of Corneille and Racine. He chose his characters from the lower ranks of society, to parody more effectually the exalted personages of the French tragedy with their forced pathos and stereotyped combats between the dictates of passion and virtue. His hero is a tailor's apprentice, John, who is betrothed to the heroine, Grete, who is of the same social status. The latter has a dream that she will never marry except on the following day. John, however, intreats her for a short delay. He has no stockings, and honour will not suffer him to stand in bare boots at the marriage ceremony. When Mad Madsen, who is the rival of John, learns the latter's embarrassment, he immediately pays court to Grete, who, for fear of incurring an old maid's fate, accepts him and philosophises :

"First t'was John that sent me fate,
But now its Mad that I must mate,"

* * * * *

When Mette, Grete's confidante, hears of her intention to transfer her hand to Mad, she advises John to steal a pair of stockings from Mad's wardrobe. She reminds him then of his impending struggle between love and virtue, and John begins to pose :

"My heart is rent,—pain and strife my fate."

He holds that love and virtue are incompatible, but at last resolves :

"My darling virtue has the vict'ry won,
For she the hero's heart must rule alone."

But his resolution breaks down when he reflects "on which side fortune will lean." Finally he steals the stockings, and with their help returns to his former position as Grete's betrothed, after the suspicions which their appearance had excited had been dispelled by himself. When they are about to proceed to church to be married, Mad enters the room, points to his initials on the stocking, and convicts John of theft. Thereupon all the persons concerned stab themselves, committing suicide from different lofty motives, love, honour, remorse, *etc.* This tragic-comic finale was perhaps the great hit of the piece. Vulgar Johns, Gretes and Mettes had copied and surpassed their lofty models in classical French tragedy, which has never since recovered its popularity. It had an immense success; people used to repeat long passages by heart, and it is still a favourite at the present time.

Wessel did not add another masterpiece to his literature, though he wrote some brilliant and witty comic poems. He

died in 1785,* leaving no successor to his fame, and with his death closed the most eventful and active period in the history of the Norwegian Society, which soon after lost its influence. But it had already played a most important rôle. It had helped to develop a national literature and had almost restored Norway to the Norwegians by its fostering care of their muse. It had favoured the choice of national subjects as the theme of their poesy, which now preferred the wild scenery and characteristics of their country. It is true that German romanticism had no little influence on many Norwegian writers ; but the clearer and more natural genius of the land prevailed. We breathe with them a draught of air from their snowy fields ; we hear the rude accents of their peasants, and the voice of the ocean, breaking upon their rocky coast and innumerable islets, is audible. Its best authors at this period were either poets or song writers, and included Brunn, Rein and Storm. The last was one of the first to compose national ballads and to use a native dialect. His "Sinclair's ballad", has retained its popularity to the present day.

It was not, however, until Norway was separated from Denmark and had acquired constitutional liberties, at the beginning of the century, that her literature made a great advance. At first it was greatly influenced by the later Danish school of romanticism, whose leader was Oehlenschläger, "The Scald of the North." In the third decade two rival poets began to dispute popularity. Welhaven, the representative of classical culture, purity and clearness of style and the modified romanticism of the time, and Wergeland, who was the more original genius, the apostle of humanity, freedom and nationalism, and who contributed some of the most beautiful lyrics of the language. Their feud was the great event of the time.

Subsequently the ardent study of folk-lore and of saga enhanced the nationalist tendency, and both Björnson and Ibsen underwent the prevailing influence, though their writings have latterly had a universal character. To-day the literature of Norway is not without influence in Europe and merits the most careful study.

A. L. HOLMES.

ART. VII.—THE PRESENT POSITION OF MEDICAL SCIENCE WITH REGARD TO CANCER.

ON the 10th of April last it was announced in the *Paris Figaro* that a Dr. Bra of Paris had discovered the microbe of cancer. Dr. Roux, the Director of the Paris Pasteur Institute, on being interrogated, said that he did not even know Dr. Bra by repute, much less had he heard of his discovery.

In England people have been stirred by the recent publication of a special Cancer Number of the *London Practitioner*, which periodical by its Tuberculosis Number so successfully started the present campaign against consumption.

As public interest in India has been aroused by Dr. Bra's announcement it will doubtless not be unwelcome to a few to learn the actual state of medical science at the present time with regard to this most justly dreaded of all complaints. One is being continually beset with the question: Is cancer increasing? In England and Wales, during 1840, cancer was set down as the cause of death in 1 out of every 5,646 of the population living, and in 1896 as the cause of death in 1 out of every 1,306 of the population. This is a terrible tale, but happily the statements require considerable qualification. Every decade shows that increasing care is being taken in the registration of the causes of death. Formerly many cases of undiagnosed fatal cancer affecting internal organs would be returned as having died of debility, intestinal obstruction, etc.; for it is beyond question that the diagnostic powers of the medical profession, as a whole have greatly improved in the last 60 years, during which time systematic registration of the causes of death has been in force in England and Wales. It is the opinion of Dr. Newsholme, the well-known authority on vital statistics, that, as far as England and Wales are concerned, the increase of cancer is more apparent than real. But, though there is no reason to think that cancer is markedly on the increase in England and Wales, yet it figures as the cause, in 6% of the males and in 7% of the females, whose deaths are registered as taking place over the age of 45. It kills annually $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of the number claimed by consumption; it claims four times as many victims as enteric fever, and neither measles nor whooping cough can show such a large annual death roll.

In New York State in 1887, there were 2,363 deaths from cancer and 11,609 deaths from consumption; but in 1898, cancer caused the death of 4,456 persons while consumption destroyed only 12,552. These figures look very alarming, for in ten years we cannot say that diagnosis as an art will show as

much improvement as in 50 years, and in the same short period, there would not be such a marked difference in the accuracy of registration. However, we know that the mortality from consumption has decreased in the last ten years, and is still decreasing everywhere, and a higher mortality rate from cancer will naturally be evident when we consider the phenomenal increase in the last ten years of the population of the State of New York and more especially of New York City.

Before going further it would be well to explain the nature of a cancer. A cancer is a tumour which, if left to itself, pursues a malignant fatal course. There are other tumours of the body which are quite benign in their nature and do no harm whatever to their host. The human frame, like all other organised bodies, is composed of various tissues, a tissue being any agglomeration of cells governed by a common law of growth. We speak of osseous tissue or bone, cartilaginous tissue or gristle, and fibrous tissue which enters into the composition of the sinews and the ligaments that unite the bones together. These tissues form the supporting framework of the body. Besides these there are other structures known as epithelial tissues; which enter into the construction of the skin and the mucous membranes which line the alimentary canal and the air and urinary passages; epithelial tissue is also present in glands such as the breast and the liver.

When these tissues obey their common law of growth the body remains in health and the different organs perform their functions properly. When however, the cells composing these tissues run riot and, disobey their common law, then growth becomes irregular and benign or malignant tumours result.

Cancers are divided into two main groups : (i). Sarcomata, which for the most part occur during the growing period of life, and can primarily affect all organs, but chiefly attack tissues forming the supporting framework of the body. (ii). Carcinomata, occurring essentially in the degenerative period of life, and arising primarily in organs composed of epithelial tissue. Both groups of cancers differ widely in their degrees of malignancy, some of the sarcomata being especially fatal.

Cancers are also divisible into many sub-varieties, whose distribution is largely influenced by the nature of the parent tissue from which they primarily spring; in fact, each organ and tissue of the body, as a general rule, will be primarily attacked by its own peculiar varieties of cancer, for instance, the variety of carcinoma peculiar to the intestine will not be found primarily affecting the breast.

We do not know yet why benign tumours should form in the body; but in the case of cancers, the recent discovery of parasitic micro-organisms leads us to infer that their presence

in the cancer is connected with the origin of the malignant new growth.

The question of the contagiousness of cancer was raised as long ago as 1649, when Zacutus Lusitanus, a surgeon, related the case of a poor woman who slept with her three boys. Two of these were in a few years dead of cancer and the third contracted the disease, which was successfully treated by operation. In 1672, Nicolaus Tulpius, after quoting a case of cancer in a servant who nursed her mistress suffering from the same disease, delivered himself of the opinion that "an ulcerated cancer was just as contagious as inflammation of the eyes." In 1773, the subject was discussed at a meeting of the Lyons Academy of Medicine; but the question was afterwards allowed to drop. Although evidence has been accumulating which points to cancer being contagious, it was not until 1889 that trustworthy evidence was forthcoming. In 1889, Professor Thoma described bodies with nuclei in cancer cells, which he called parasitic micro-organisms. Dr. Russell, in 1890, in the *British Medical Journal*, described bodies in cancer cells which he showed to possess a great affinity for the aniline dye fuchsine. M. M. Soudakewitch and Metchnikoff, two Russians, published, in the *Annals of the Paris Pasteur Institute* for 1892, papers describing parasitic bodies in cancer cells, and the latter of the two observers, after further work on the subject next year, called these parasites protozoa.

Dr. Sanfelice of Cagliari, Dr. Roncali of Rome, and Mr. Plimmer of London are among those who have been working most recently on the subject and they have made numerous examinations of cancerous tumours of every variety. They have all seen these parasitic bodies, and it is now agreed that they are blastomycetes, a variety of the yeast family in the vegetable kingdom. In order to demonstrate these parasites, great care and accuracy have to be observed in the preparation and staining of the specimens for microscopical examination. Mr. Plimmer has found the parasites in 1,130 cases out of a total of 1,278, and in the cases where he failed to discover them, the tumours had begun to degenerate or had become dense and fibrous in structure, which, we shall see, is the way in which Nature tries to effect a cure.

The parasites are round bodies varying in size from $\cdot 004$ to $\cdot 04$ of a millimetre; the most powerful microscopes therefore are necessary for their examination. They are not found in every part of the cancer, but are to be always met with in the growing edge of the disease, and are most numerous in rapidly increasing tumours. These round bodies contain a nucleus which stains differently from the rest of their structure. They reproduce themselves by a budding out, or projection, from

these nuclei, these buds or projections eventually separate from the parent nucleus, forming two nuclei and afterwards separate parasites. This process can be made out in all growing cancers.

To have isolated parasitical bodies from the cells of a cancer was certainly a great step towards 'finding' out the nature of the disease; but, to render the work complete and afford convincing proof of their parasitical nature, it was necessary to show that these parasites could be cultivated in suitable media outside the body, and that inoculation of a pure culture thus obtained could produce cancer when injected into the tissues of a living animal.

Dr. Sanfelice in 1894, isolated some blastomycetes from certain fruit juices and found that injection of these into animals led to the formation of tumours at the site of injection. Mr. Plimmer, after numerous trials, discovered a medium on which the parasite could be grown. This medium is prepared by taking pieces of cancer freshly removed from the body and making an infusion of them in the same way as an ordinary beef tea is prepared; to this infusion, when rendered neutral in reaction, glucose or grape sugar 2 per cent., and Tartaric Acid 1 per cent., are added. Into flasks containing this medium very small pieces of fresh cancer are placed, with every precaution against possible contamination with any other microbes. The air in the flasks is then exhausted and Hydrogen gas substituted for the air. By this process the conditions present in the body when cancer is growing are as nearly as possible imitated, the air which is not present in the human tissues even being excluded.

In 48 hours, at a suitable temperature, the contents of these flasks become turbid, and this turbidity increases until the 6th day, when the turbidity, or growth, sinks to the bottom of the flasks, leaving the fluid quite clear. By growing in Hydrogen gas the virulence of the parasite is maintained for months, whereas in ordinary atmospheric air the parasite grows badly and soon becomes attenuated in virulence.

This culture has been successfully propagated in the guinea-pig by inoculation into the belly cavity of these animals. After being thus treated, guinea-pigs usually die in from 12 to 13 days, and, *post mortem*, the liver and spleen and bowels are all studded with new growths the cells of which contain the parasites, the liver shows in all cases great destruction of the liver cells, a condition frequent in the human liver when affected with cancer. In the case of a guinea-pig which survived inoculation for 20 days the lungs were found studded with new growths.

It is quite possible that the presence of this parasite in the

interior of the cells of a tissue is sufficient to render those cells disobedient to their common law of growth. We will suppose that the coating of epithelial cells on the surface of the tongue becomes abraded by long continued friction against a jagged tooth, or that the vitality of these cells is lowered by persistent tobacco irritation, whereby the parasitic micro-organism of cancer enters these surface cells; then these parasites, having found a suitable field for growth, begin to multiply, and the epithelial cells, no longer obeying their common law of growth and coating the surface of the tongue, begin to penetrate and grow into the body of that organ, which is largely composed of muscle.

Immediately the healthy tissues are attacked, Nature makes her best efforts to fight the enemy. Those scavengers of the body, the white corpuscles of the blood, leave the blood vessels where they have been circulating in the neighbourhood of the new growth, and advance into the adjacent tissues and do their best to kill the parasite. With this influx of white blood corpuscles, the tissues round the area attacked by the micro-organism become very dense and eventually almost fibrous in character, the blood vessels here situated become compressed, and the cells in the centre of the growth, through receiving an insufficient supply of blood to nourish them, undergo degeneration and die. The nerves are compressed also in the same process giving rise to pain.

If the system reacts strongly against the invasion of these parasites, this dense fibrous tissue formed round the growth may suffice to include and starve it, a natural cure thus taking place. This has been seen in some cases of cancer of the breast. But if the powers of resistance are feeble, the parasites will advance rapidly into the adjacent tissues destroying everything, and will also be carried by the lymphatic vessels to the neighbouring lymphatic glands, and may even be carried by the blood current in the veins and be deposited in the lungs, and, in fact, in any part of the body forming what are known as metastases, or secondary growths.

In cases where the original cancer is situated near the surface of the body, say in the breast, the parasites advance in every direction and eventually attack the skin, which gives way, producing a fungating sore. The cells in the centre of the tumour, which, we have already seen become degenerate and die from want of nourishment, will be cast off at this fungating site, with the foul discharges that add so much to the horror attending cancer when its growth has not been checked.

Death comes at last, sooner or later, as a merciful release to the sufferer, racked with pain and worn out by exhausting

discharge, generally through some intercurrent disorder brought about by the dissemination of the parasites and the formation of secondary tumours in some of the vital organs.

The geographical distribution of cancer has received much attention, and maps have been made of England and Wales on which the incidence of cancer in the different districts has been represented by various shades of blue and red. Districts where the cancer death rate is above the average for the whole country are shaded blue, and districts are shaded red which show a low average. In the study of one of these most interesting maps, one's attention is drawn almost at once to the fact that nearly the whole of Wales and the North-West part of England are coloured red, these form the most elevated and best drained districts of the country and geologically belong to the oldest periods, the Silurian and Carboniferous. The highest death rates of all from cancer are to be found in those low lying districts liable to seasonal floods. Geologically these high mortality areas lie on alluvium or clay subsoils. The maps recently made tell the same tale as those made 40 years ago, but the reason for this peculiar distribution of cancer must for the present remain unsolved.

The topographical distribution of cancer in small areas has not been neglected either in the last few years, and the evidence which is daily forthcoming tells us how cancer is to be found localised in certain villages, houses, and even rooms. It will not be possible within the limits of an article like this to give more than one or two examples. During a period of 23 years, in a small area of the little town of Luckau in Germany, there were 73 deaths from cancer, and in one house as many as 4 deaths occurred. Mr. D'Arcy Power of London relates the case of a new house in the country, in England, where a man lived whose great aunt died of cancer of the breast; the man himself died, aged 26, of cancer of the groin; his successor in the house died of cancer of the rectum, and his successor again died aged 36, of cancer affecting the brain. The same author, in an article recently published in the *London Practitioner*, describes one of these small cancer districts in England and illustrates the article with a map showing that cases of cancer occur chiefly in houses lying near the streams that water the district. In this particular district from 1872 to 1890, 173 cases of cancer were observed, 59 in males and 113 in females. Of the 173 cases, 81 were cases affecting some part of the digestive tract. This seems to show that the infection enters the system in food or drink in nearly half the cases, but on this question we cannot as yet speak with certainty. The geographical and topographical study of cancer furnishes material that goes a long way to substantiate the view that cancer is contagious.

Cancer is not by any means confined to the human race ; cancerous tumours of several varieties have been seen and even removed by operation from all the domestic animals, and cases are on record where the disease has been conveyed from men to animals and from animals to men. Cancer seems to be almost unknown in the domestic pig.

As regards origin, in few diseases has there been so much theorising as in cancer. The irritation theory has been for a long time prominently before the medical profession. Where bones have been struck and muscles strained, sarcomata have developed ; the irritation of the mouth-piece of a tobacco pipe has produced cancer of the lip ; even friction from the bridge of a pair of spectacles has led to cancer of the skin of the nose. But the irritation theory will not hold water in every instance, as cases of cancer occur in organs far removed from irritation of any sort. The most that can be said of irritation as a cause of cancer, is that, by its abrading action, or perhaps by lowering the vitality of certain cells, it favours the admission of the parasite. That Drs. Sanfelice and Roncali have found blastomycetes in certain fruits and from them reproduced tumours in animals, will give a fresh argument to those who believe in the "tomato theory" of the origin of cancer. It is not certain how this theory was started ; but it has many adherents and is a great favourite with the general public.

A great deal has been said from time to time about the hereditary nature of cancer, and one repeatedly comes across instances where the heritable nature of the disease is most marked from generation to generation. But that the disease is universally heritable is open to doubt, for it was shown by Professor F. S. Dennis of New York, in his presidential address at the opening of the American Surgical Association in 1895, that, after a careful examination of statistics, a history of heredity was only found in about 4 per cent. of the cases under review.

So far as we know, cancer like consumption (tuberculosis), is not directly transmitted from parents to children, and now that the infectious nature of tuberculosis is established, it is generally admitted that the heritable nature of consumption takes the form of a transmission of general delicacy in the individual which renders him or her prone to the attacks of the microbe of tuberculosis. It may be that a similar predisposition is transmitted in the case of cancer, for we constantly see how differently individuals react when attacked by the same form of cancer in similar organs of the body. In one case the system appears to make no stand against the disease, and a rapidly fatal result is the consequence, whereas, in another individual the

same variety of cancer will be held in check and may remain quiescent for years ; in fact, may actually shrivel and disappear.

It remains now to show how far at the present time medical science can combat this disease. As matters stand, it is only from surgery that any hope can be obtained of eradicating cancer. The discovery of the anæsthetic properties of chloroform and ether, and the work of Lord Lister in bringing about the rapid healing of wounds, have made the most extensive dissections possible, and blood poisoning after operations ought to be a thing of the past. For surgery to be successful, cancer must be recognised early and an operation must aim at a thorough removal, not only of the palpable tumour and the adjacent fat, but also of the nearest lymphatic glands. In the case of cancer of the breast, not only must the cancer itself be removed, but the fat and the lymphatic glands in the armpit must also be taken away. Care has, in addition, to be taken not to infect the wound made at the operation from the cancer itself, or from any of its discharges, for there is not much doubt that the parasite would easily infect a fresh wound and start a new focus of disease at the infected spot.

If, after a thorough operation, a patient remains well for three years without any signs of a relapse, a cure may be said to have resulted. In the case of cancer of the breast the most recent statistics have shewn that in nearly 50 per cent. of the cases there was no sign of recurrence after three years. In cancer of the lip, successes, *i.e.*, a three years immunity after thorough operation, have been obtained in over 40 per cent. of the cases. Cancer of the tongue, palate and throat do not show such good percentages of success ; still good results are seen in the case of the first two organs.

Cancer of the interior of the larynx has been removed with success ; but, as before said, that depends on an early recognition of the disease.

Much good work has been done in the treatment of abdominal cancer. The whole stomach has been removed with success, and it has been shown that man can live very well without a stomach. From the intestine cancerous tumours have been removed, and with the divided ends of the intestinal tube stitched together digestion has been carried on with perfect success, without any recurrence of the disease in a large number of instances. Even where the disease is so extensive as to be incapable of removal, by uniting the bowel above and below the site of the disease, short circuiting it in fact, digestion can be successfully carried on and otherwise inevitable and rapidly fatal intestinal obstruction obviated. The womb has also been extirpated for cancer with gratifying results.

Even where the whole of the cancer-affected area cannot be

removed, as in some cases of cancer of the tongue, yet the removal of the primary disease in the tongue materially adds to the comfort of the patient and renders his last days bearable and free from the pain and discomfort attendant on the presence of a foul fungating tumour in the mouth. The disease in such a case will be present in the lymphatic glands of the neck and chest and continue to spread and be disseminated in the various organs of the body, like the lungs and liver, and a fatal result will ensue of course; but this secondary development of the complaint is not a tithe so terrible as when the primary focus of the cancer is permitted to remain.

In 1866, Professor Busch described how, after erysipelas had attacked a woman suffering from multiple cancer of the face, the tumours promptly broke down and disappeared. Since then other cases have been reported where accidental attacks of erysipelas have led to amelioration and even cure in patients suffering from cancer. On the strength of these reports, early in 1892, Dr. W. B. Coley, of New York, began treating cases of inoperable cancer by injecting in and around the tumours' pure cultures of the microbe of erysipelas. The proceeding was not without some risk; but anything is worth a trial in hopeless cases. The reaction in several instances led to marked improvement and a cure was even reported. Since then Dr. Coley has worked with a mixture produced by cultivation, of the microbe of erysipelas and another microbe, known to bacteriologists as *bacillus prodigiosus*, together in soup, and afterwards heating the mixed culture to a temperature of 58° Cent. The treatment is carried out by giving daily increasing doses of sufficient strength to produce a mild reaction. The results are very remarkable, and many of the patients steadily gain in weight. The treatment should, however, be abandoned after three weeks if no improvement results, for beyond that time further trial is useless. Dr. Coley's results with this treatment may thus be summarised; of 148 cases treated, 18 were finally cured, which result is a matter for congratulation, seeing how in all these cases the disease had progressed beyond operative treatment and was otherwise hopeless.

Dr. G. E. Herman, of London, has recently published two cases of recurrent cancer of the breast which disappeared after removal of the ovaries, aided by the internal administration of extract of the thyroid glands of sheep and oxen. Cases have also been reported by other observers where the same treatment has been followed by success. It is hard to say to what this success is due; but it seems certain that the ovaries, besides their reproductive functions, exert some influence on the nutrition of the breast. The use of electricity in inoperable

cancer so far has been generally attended with failure, and the same may be said of local injections of alcohol into the tumour.

The entire animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms have been ransacked to find drugs likely to be of use in the treatment of cancer. From time to time Arsenic and Chian Turpentine are brought forward as valuable agents, but systematic trial is invariably attended with failure.

Several Russian physicians have, during the last three years, drawn the notice of the profession to the properties of *Chelidonium majus* (Celandine). The drug, given in the form of an extract internally or hypodermically, has been used for the treatment of cancer for a long time ; but the wonderful powers attributed to it seem to rest on evidence obtained from insufficient and unsystematic experiment.

As is only natural, quacks abound everywhere for the treatment of diseases like cancer. When the real nature and rational treatment of any particular disease have been scientifically worked out, then the quack leaves that disease for other more profitable fields. For instance, there is no money in smallpox in a well vaccinated community, and Behring's antitoxin has taken the bread out of the mouth of the charlatan who would get his living by vaunting a new secret remedy for diphtheria, while, in the case of hydrophobia, the Pasteur Institutes established all over the world, but in Malta alone of all the British possessions, afford a certain means of cure for those who will avail themselves of the antidote that Pasteur discovered.

In the treatment of cancer we hear of various pastes being recommended for the painless (?) removal of cancers without recourse to the knife. These pastes are generally formed on a basis of Chloride of Zinc, or one of the strong mineral acids. Cancers, it is true, have been thus burnt out with success, but painless these pastes certainly are not. There is no means of telling whether the disease has been entirely removed, and often, by their use more living healthy tissue is removed than is necessary. The result of their application is an angry sore which heals slowly, like any other burn.

The most arrant fraud of modern times has been Count Mattei's cure. In 1890 and 1891 the coloured electric globules in spite of their being proved to contain only water, were boomed during the London season, and, as usual, the promoters waxed fat on the eternal gullible of the human race. Except in India, where there still appears to be a sale, the remedy has been thrust into the limbo where, no doubt, it will remain until another enterprising member of some aristocracy brings it forth in a fresh dress to defraud and disappoint other victims of hopeless inoperable cancer. Cancer, in common with

benign tumours and warts, is known to disappear of its own accord, and there is no doubt that instances of this sort have swelled the number of successes of not a few quacks.

Cholera, plague and cancer are alike in being very fatal, and the first two can be kept from spreading in cleanly communities by efficient hygienic mean ; but cancer so far seems to be quite without the pale of modern sanitation.

The task now before the medical profession is to labour still to elucidate the natural history of the cancer parasite. It will be by scientific experiment only that an unfailing cure will be discovered. Having so far succeeded in isolating and cultivating the parasite that causes cancer, it is to be hoped that in the near future advances will be made in the preparation of some antidote whereby the growth of the micro-organisms can be controlled. We may yet see, as in the case of diphtheria, hydrophobia and tetanus, some means given to us whereby the mortality of cancer may be lessened and patients spared the horrible sufferings they now endure. At present early and thorough operation gives the only hope of prolonging life.

ARNOLD CADDY, F. R. C. S.

P.S.—By last week's mail we learn that the Cancer Society was inaugurated on June 7th in London. This Society has been organised to combat the supposed recent increase of cancer. The following are the objects of the Society : (1) The improvement of technical medical education (2) to give popular instruction in elementary health laws bearing upon the prevention, amelioration, or cure of cancerous diseases ; (3) the institution of prizes for original essays or investigations, (4) the delivery of lectures by the most eminent scientists procurable ; (5) the foundation of a special laboratory for cancer research ; (6) the utilization of special hospitals for teaching purposes ; (7) the promotion of Parliamentary enquiry into the causes of the mortality, and of any subsequent legislation thereby indicated ; (8) the collection and publication of reliable statistics, with any further useful information ; (9) the possible establishment of a cancer home for persons of limited means.

A. C.

ART VIII.—ANTHROPOMETRICAL AND PSYCHO-
PHYSICAL STUDY,
WITH AN
INVESTIGATION OF THE WASHINGTON SCHOOL CHILDREN.
by

ARTHUR MACDONALD,

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IN early times measurements of the body were made in the service of art. It is only in comparatively recent times that anthropometry has taken a scientific direction. The artist was interested almost wholly in the form and proportion of the human body, and so measured those only who were well-formed. The empirical investigator is interested in the measurements of all persons. The founder of this latter branch of study is the Belgian statistician, Quetelet. His purpose was to find what is typical in man, at the same time making note of the variations due to sex, age, race, and social position.

PRACTICAL NATURE OF ANTHROPOMETRY.

One of the practical aims of measurements of living men to identify personality. It is to give to each individual a positive, permanent and invariable personality." Thus, when a life-insurance policy or a certificate of death is to be drawn up, or, when it is desired to identify some insane person or some one disfigured by sudden or violent death, by shipwreck or combat, it would be serviceable had those persons had their measurements recorded; so that some could be identified with certainty. Banks and associations for mutual benefit could not be so easily swindled by the assertion of the death of a policy holder; impersonation of a pensioner, or of an heir, would be difficult, and "those who died in battle would not have a nameless grave."

This is an extension of the idea of the Bertillon system of measurements for criminals—a system which aids in lessening crime. Crime is encouraged from the difficulty of distinguishing one person from another, so that habitual and professional criminals escape punishment.

This system, although intended primarily for a practical end, can be made of scientific value as far as is goes. Experience has shown that absolute certainty of identity is possible by the Bertillon system. But the full benefits of a practical system of identification can not be reached unless

applied to all individuals. There might be at first sentimental objections, as has happened in things which subsequently proved to be of great utility to society. No one who intended to be an honourable citizen would have anything to fear ; but, on the contrary, it would afford protection to humanity in enabling society to find its enemies. This certainty of identification would discourage dishonest voting, assist in recognizing deserters from the Army, in enforcing laws, and in facilitating many business matters.

In the investigation of normal modern civilized man, the most important branch is probably the study of children. The importance of taking physical measurements of children in school lies in the fact that such measurements may be considered as a test for systems of physical culture. As pupils are examined periodically to test their mental growth and improvement, it is just as necessary for their welfare that their physical condition and development be ascertained, so that progress may be gained in body as well as in mind. But there must be some standard by which we can measure physical development and growth. This can be ascertained only by taking measurements of a large number of children of all school ages. Although the physical conditions upon which the activity of mind depends are so complex, and so much is still unknown, yet it can be said with almost certainty that, at those ages in which children grow rapidly, there should be a corresponding reduction in the amount of study required, and this should be done even if the pupil is mentally capable of doing more, for no pupil should be developed in mind to the detriment of bodily conditions. The bright scholar, whom parents are too often inclined to push, needs it the least, especially if his physical condition is inferior to his mental. The saying that apples which ripen slowest last the longest, is as true as it is homely. The systematic collection, then, of physical statistics in the public schools will furnish valuable facts for the hygienist and the educator.

NORMAL MAN SHOULD BE STUDIED.

Students of anthropology have confined their attention largely to uncivilized and prehistoric man, and consequently there is very little knowledge of modern civilized man, as compared with his less worthy predecessors or contemporaries. We know more about rocks and brutes than about modern man. We have made sciences of the two former, but a science of the latter hardly exists. The men who have begun lately to study modern man have given the abnormal types, such as criminals, the insane, inebriates, paupers, etc., the advantage of their investigations. It is time that similar

investigations should be made upon average normal men, who are the foundation of every community.

Also men of great talent or genius, should be studied ; for, if it is important to study the criminal in order to find the causes of crime, and thereby prevent or lessen it, it is, perhaps, more needful to investigate the man of talent or genius, in order to ascertain the conditions and characteristics that lead to success in life.*

OBJECTIONS TO PSYCHO-PHYSICAL METHODS.

Objections are frequently made to the present psycho-physical methods of studying man. It is said that too much importance is attached to the physical side of man, as though the soul and mind could be measured by an instrument of precision. It is not intended here to enter upon a special discussion of this subject, about which there may be difference of opinion. The measurements made are measurements of the body, or of physical effects in the body arising from either physical or mental causes, or from both causes.

When, for instance, an instrument to measure pain, as a temporal algometer,† is pressed against the temple with gradually increasing force, and the subject tells as soon as the increasing pressure becomes in the least disagreeable—we will say that when the pressure reaches 2,000 grams it begins to feel disagreeable—the question arises as to what this 2,000 grams pressure measures. It is not true to say that this is wholly a physical measurement, much less to say that it is wholly a mental or emotional measurement. It seems to be simply an approximate measurement of the combination of these three elements. In the present state of knowledge it would be hazardous to say which element enters most into the measurement.

The impression is sometimes formed from reading descriptions of instruments and details of long series of experiments, that psycho-physical study ignores introspection ; but this is a misconception.

It is natural that most investigation on comparatively new lines should take up the more elementary phenomena. Introspectional states of consciousness are, perhaps, the most complex, and it would have been premature to enter into their consideration before the simpler states had been thoroughly studied. There should be extensive investigation of introspection ; it should be considered experimentally under definite conditions, etc. Speaking of the common error which makes experimental psychology a mere study of sensation and reaction time, Münsterberg says :—

* See article on "Emile Zola" (by author) *Open Court*, August 1898.

† Description in Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education for 1897-98, page 1155.

TRUTH FOR ITS OWN SAKE.

Notwithstanding the practical utility of anthropometry, which we have stated above, objection is sometimes made that it, as well as other phases of scientific investigation, cannot always be of immediate use.

The question is often asked as to the utility of experiments of this nature. The commercial or utilitarian spirit does not yield the best results, though it sometimes brings quick and paying returns. But in all experimental work much is done that subsequently is seen to have been unnecessary. This is mainly because the real significance of any initial truth can not be known until the discovery of other truths has been made. The purely practical point of view sometimes assumes that we ought to know beforehand what an experiment is going to prove, as though the investigation were but an interesting pastime, for, of course, there would then be no necessity for the experiment.

In an empirical investigation new lines of study require much more detail. As a rule, it is better to have too many data than too few; for to assume in a preliminary inquiry what material is important and what not important is premature. To exclude material on theoretical grounds at the outset is to allow presuppositions undue influence. A laboratory inquiry may be continued a year or more, and often the result of all the labour may be stated in one page or one sentence; or there may be only a negative conclusion, but this is no reason that an investigation should not be undertaken. Negative results may be useful for future study in indicating what methods or material to avoid.

Certain objections are sometimes made to new and necessarily incomplete lines of work. The type of objections referred to would hardly be made by investigators. Thus, it is sometimes said that unrelated facts, like a pile of bricks, do not make a house; but the answer is, you cannot build a house or form a science without these separate facts; they are the material itself. It may be asked what is the use of knowing, for instance, that one group of children are more sensitive to heat than another group. We think there is some use, but we will waive that. The point of view suggested by these and similar objections overlooks the fact that such objections would have applied to all sciences in their early stages. If, for instance, individual facts about children, even if their immediate use is unknown, are not important, what is important in life? Many such objections would involve a discussion of points of view of life which it would be out of place to consider now. But it may be said, in general, that the primary object of science has always been *truth for its own sake*, and

under the inspiration of this ideal many discoveries of the greatest utility to humanity have been made.

METHODS OF INVESTIGATION.

To establish the measure of work according to the strength of the individual is fundamental to the economy of health. This is especially true of children, but the difficulties here are greater than in the case of adults, owing to the changes caused by growth. Overtaxing of the powers here leaves its mark generally throughout the whole future life of the child. No question, then, can be more important for the school, according to Combe, than :—

(a) What is the maximum work suitable to a child in the different periods of development in its school life?

(b) Can this maximum be injurious at certain times, when all the vital force may be required for growth?

We must first know the physiology of normal growth, whether it is regular and when it increase or decreases in rate, and what influences these increases and decreases. There are two methods of pursuing such an investigation—the collective method and the individual method.

The collective method consists in measuring large numbers of children of every age, and obtaining the average or mean for each age, the value of which is in proportion to the number measured. Quetelet, of Brussels was one of the first to use this method ; but he only measured ten of each sex, which is too small a number to give any certainty to the results. Of much more importance are, for instance, Dr. Bowdich's measurements of 24,000 Boston school children. This method was employed by Alex. Hertel in Denmark, who measured 28,384 children in the different public schools. Axel Key in Sweden measured 15,000, most of whom were in the high schools ; Erismann gives results from 3,000 children in Moscow, Pagliani for 2,016 in Turin. Kotelmann in Hamburg made very careful and extensive measurements, but on a limited number.

The individual method was employed by Liharzik in Vienna, who investigated 200 from 8 to 14 years of age, measuring them each year.

The results of both methods are not always exact. Most authors have, for example, considered children as being 9 years of age who were anywhere between the ages of 9 and 10. Others have more correctly recorded them at their *nearest age*. The result is that the averages of different authors are not for exactly the same years of age. Louis Roux, of Switzerland, employed a new and much more exact method, which consisted in following the month of birth,

instead of the year, so that there were twelve groups. Thus, it was found that children born in summer were larger than those born in winter, a fact that may prove to be of some significance.

WHAT IS A NORMALLY DEVELOPED CHILD ?

This question might be answered, but only within certain limits, owing to the variation and the complexity of the human species. A method of inquiry would be to seek out the positively abnormal children and find what characteristics are peculiar to them. The remaining children in a general way might be called normal.

At present the desire is to find the norm, the average, the type or types of the great mass of children. This can be done only by measurements on large numbers, these measurements to be summarised according to the statistical method.

It is a common saying that "almost anything" can be proved by statistics. This may be true with their wrong interpretation. Yet without statistics there is little or no basis for opinion or conclusion. Every additional observation through counting, measuring, or weighing ; every repetition of an experiment, when applied to large numbers, lessens the amount of error, giving a closer approximation to truth, against which preconceived ideas or theories have little weight.

According to Hasse, one of the aims of anthropometry is to find the normal relation between mental and physical development. The close relation of anthropometrical measurements of school children to hygiene will be evident when it is asked within what general limits shall growth, in height, weight, strength, etc., be considered as representing a healthy normal child. In our present state of knowledge it would be hazardous to define a normally developed child.

ANTHROPOMETRY AND ABNORMALITIES.

There is, doubtless, in the early periods of life, up to adult age, a certain relation of bodily organs to one another. A want of such relation may produce abnormalities, which in turn may give a lack of grace, symmetry, or beauty to the human body. If such a relation is to be generally established, that we may know within certain limits what can be considered the proper bodily proportions ; measurements in large numbers of children at different ages and stages of growth must be made. Hence the only way to a definite knowledge as to the development of the human body will be through long and painstaking investigations. Thus the causes of homeliness, lack of beauty, deformities, and the like may be more definitely ascertained. This in turn may help in their prevention. Such

abnormalities affect not only beauty, but, what is more important, health. When abnormalities are discovered early in youth there is more opportunity of avoiding their evil effects. The relation of these body abnormalities to disease may prove of practical importance. Thus Hildebrand, an experienced investigator, remarks that delicate, slender people are much more subject to typhoid fever than to consumption; another says of the same class that they are much more inclined to nervous troubles than other people. Another physician of large experience asserts that, where chest and trunk remain undeveloped, the head and extremities are much more developed.

Beneke in Marburg has shown that the relation between the size of the heart and the circumference of the arteries is gradually changed during the growth of the body, and that there is a consequent variation in blood pressure. This is specially true at puberty, when the heart increases very fast in volume; for the arteries increase much in length with the increase of length of body, but their diameter is relatively little increased, so that much more work is required of the heart. Thus the growth in the length of body can be of the greatest importance to the development of the heart. Should this growth be irregular or abnormally fast, serious difficulties may arise, and Beneke has endeavoured to show that herein lies the cause of the development of consumption at puberty. The importance, therefore, of determining the normal rate of growth is evident.

We have mentioned these general opinions of experienced physicians and specialists as an indication of the utility of the anthropometry of the future.

SCHOOL CRITERION OF ABILITY.

It is often said that school tests of ability are little guarantee of the superiority of a pupil in subsequent life. One reason for this belief is that too much is expected of school tests. A particularly bright pupil who does not succeed in after life is, by force of contrast, remembered longer than those bright ones who are expected to succeed and do.

We think it will be found that the majority of those who do well in school do well in after life; for quickness of insight combined with faithfulness and regularity in work are the main characteristics which contribute to success in school. These are also the characteristics which make life a success. It must be remembered that now and then there is a brilliant pupil who is only prematurely so; such brightness may have a pathological cause, and is not a favorable sign. Such pupils, who mature early, may after a certain age be no more than average or even below average. Then there are certain original or peculiar characters with great talents in one direction who will

surely succeed in life, but who can not adapt themselves very well to the conditions of school, and hence have a poor school standing. But the success of exceptional personalities is usually in spite of early disadvantages. Early success unfortunately often causes one to feel less the need of educational advantages. The schools are not intended for the genius, but are planned for the great majority, who are the foundation of society.

OBJECTIONS TO ESTIMATING ABILITY.

It may be objected, that there is no standard of ability in studies. There is not, and it is improbable that there ever will be, any absolute standard of ability. But this does not in the least hinder us from saying, and saying truthfully, that one pupil is bright and another dull.

We do not agree with those who may think that teachers are not capable of judging of their pupils. While some may make mistakes, it is wholly improbable that those who do will all make mistakes the same way. Some may estimate ability too high and some too low, so that most of such errors will balance each other. It is very improbable that a hundred teachers, in judging of thousand pupils (say one teacher judges as to ten pupils), will all estimate them too high or too low. When the numbers are larger, the improbability of errors sufficient to be of consequence is very great.

It may seem to some unnecessary to mention the following objections; but, as they might be made, the writer has endeavored to anticipate them. It may be objected that there is no standard of mental ability. This is a fact; but the objection is weak, for a large number of investigations would be necessary to make a standard, and of course some of these measurements be made before there could be any standard. But the objector may mean that there are no accurate measurements or exact divisions of children into bright, dull, and average, and that such terms are too indefinite for statistical purposes. It might be said that many valuable statistics are only approximately true. But, admitting the objections for the sake of argument, and saying that judgments as to brightness, dulness, etc., are mere matters of opinion, it may be said that the results are statistics of opinions of teachers. Then the real question is, What is the probable truth of the opinions of the teachers? The opinions of 100 teachers on 1,000 pupils and of 500 teachers on 20,000 pupils, as in the case of the Washington children, must be held as approximately true when there is any general agreement as to any division of the pupils, for so many different teachers could not make errors all the same way.

WASHINGTON SCHOOL CHILDREN.*

Washington is a residential city with comparatively few foreigners. The well-to-do and poorer classes among the whites are more equally divided than in most cities. There is a very general representation from all States among the residents. For these reasons a study and measurement of the school children of Washington may be capable of more general application to Americans as a whole.

METHOD OF INQUIRY.

In the study of the children two methods of investigation have been followed, one is an anthropometrical and sociological study of all (21,930) the school children, based upon measurements by the teachers. This includes also a purely psychological inquiry as to comparative mental ability in the different school studies as reported by the teachers, and a study of the abnormal children in the schools as reported by the teachers.

The other is a special study of 1,074 children, which considers cephalic index and sensibility to heat and locality upon the skin, with relation to sex, mental ability, and sociological condition. It is based upon measurements by the writer.

The teachers were asked not only to mark each pupil bright, dull, or average, in general, but to specify the studies in which such pupil was bright, dull, or average. In this way a more complete judgment of the pupil's ability was obtained. Thus, some children generally bright are, nevertheless, dull or average in certain studies.

In reporting the pupils as bright, dull, or average, the teachers were told to mark them average whenever in doubt. In this way there was less liability to error in regard to the bright and dull, which are the classes we desired most to compare. The teachers reported upon those pupils whom they knew best. The pupils were marked after the measurements were made.

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION.

It is a general principle in new lines of inquiry to regard the results as more or less *tentative* according to the number of experiments made. In this work the results depend upon averages, which are valuable according to the whole numbers from which the averages are made. The conclusions, therefore, will be more trustworthy the larger the numbers measured. In many instances those numbers are not as large as one would desire; but it is hoped this will induce some investigator to make experiments upon larger numbers.

* For detailed study on Washington children see coming Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education, pages 989—1094.

CONCLUSIONS AS TO ALL THE SCHOOL CHILDREN.

1. As circumference of head increases mental ability increases.†

2. Children of the non-labouring classes‡ have a larger circumference of head than children of the labouring classes.

3. The head circumference of boys is larger than that of girls, but in coloured children the girls slightly excel the boys in circumference of head.

4. Coloured girls have larger circumference of head at all ages than white girls.

5. An important fact already discovered by others is that for a certain period of time before and after puberty girls are taller and heavier than boys, but at no other time.

6. White children not only have a greater standing height than coloured children, but their sitting height is still greater; yet coloured children have a greater weight than white children—that is, white children, relatively to their height, are longer bodied than coloured children.

7. Bright boys are in general taller and heavier than dull boys. This confirms the results of Porter.

8. While the bright coloured boys excel the dull coloured boys in height, the dull excel the bright in sitting height. This seems to indicate a relation or concomitancy of dulness and long-bodiedness for coloured boys.

9. The pubertal period of superiority of girls in height, sitting height, and weight is nearly a year longer in the labouring classes than in the non-labouring classes.

10. Children of the non-labouring classes have, in general, greater height, sitting height, and weight, than children of the labouring classes. This confirms the results of investigations by Roberts, Baxter, and Bowditch.

11. Girls are superior to boys in their studies (but see conclusion 19).

12. Children of the non-labouring classes show greater ability in their studies than children of the labouring classes. This confirms the results of others.

13. Mixture of nationality seems to be unfavourable to the development of mental ability.

14. Girls show higher percentages of average ability in their studies than boys, and therefore less variability. This is interpreted by some to be a defect from an evolutionary point of view, but see conclusion 16.

15. As age increases, brightness decreases in most studies, but dulness increases except in drawing, manual labor, and penmanship; that is, in the more mechanical studies.

† "Non labouring classes" refers to children, whose parents are engaged in mercantile and professional occupations.

‡ It being understood that the race is the same.

16. In coloured children brightness increases with age, the reverse of what is true in white children.

CONCLUSIONS AS TO CHILDREN WITH ABNORMALITIES.

17. Boys of the non-labouring classes show a much higher percentage of sickness than boys of the labouring classes.

18. Defects of speech are much more frequent in boys than in girls.

19. Boys show a much greater percentage of unruliness and laziness than girls.

20. The dull boys have the highest per cent of unruliness.

21. Abnormalities in children are most frequent at dentition and puberty.

27. Children with abnormalities are inferior in height, sitting height, weight, and circumference of head to children in general.

A SPECIAL STUDY OF 1,074 SCHOOL CHILDREN, CONSIDERING CEPHALIC INDEX AND SENSIBILITY TO HEAT, AND LOCALITY ON THE SKIN, WITH RELATION TO MENTAL ABILITY, SOCIOLOGICAL CONDITION, SEX, AND PUBERTY.

All the measurements of this part of the investigation were made by the writer. There were in all more than 1,000 pupils specially studied, 526 boys and 548 girls.

The representative or typical schools were visited, and a room was set apart for making the measurements. It required about twenty minutes to measure each pupil. There were generally four pupils in the room, so that each one saw three measured before his or her turn came. The endeavour was to make all the conditions, as far as possible, similar for each pupil. Experiments were made upon the right hand or wrist, then upon the left hand or wrist.

The pupils were selected according as it was convenient to send them in, so as to interfere as little as possible with their regular school duties.

SPECIAL MEASUREMENTS.

Head.

The two most common measurements of the head (maximum length and maximum width) were taken, and the cephalic index obtained, dividing the children into long heads (dolicocephaly,) medium (mesocephaly) and broad (heads brachycephaly).

LEAST SENSIBILITY TO HEAT.

The least sensibility to heat was determined by the thermæsthesiometer of Eulenburg.

This is an instrument consisting of two thermometers fastened together. The left-hand thermometer was heated until it

registered about 10° higher temperature than the right-hand thermometer; then the two thermometers were placed on the palmar surface of the wrist the subject was asked which was the warmer, and on replying correctly the thermometers were held on the skin until the subject could not tell which was the warmer; at this instant the difference in degrees between the thermometers was read. This difference must be regarded only as a *relative* indication of the least sensibility to heat. Distinguishing small differences of temperature indicates acuteness of sensibility to heat; or, on the other hand, the greater the difference of temperature required to be perceived by the subject, the greater the obtuseness to heat. Thus if C can not tell the difference between the two thermometers after their difference is less than 3° and D after it is less than 2° , D, is more acute to heat by 1° degree than C.

STRENGTH OF HAND GRASP.

The strength of hand grasp is measured by the dynamometer. This instrument is squeezed in the hand while the arm is held out horizontally from the side of the body. The strength of the right hand was generally taken first. The dynamometer is to some extent a sociological instrument, in distinguishing those who do manual labour from those who do not by the greater strength of hand in the former.

SENSIBILITY TO LOCALITY ON THE PALMAR SURFACE OF THE WRIST.

The capacity of distinguishing points on the body by the sense of touch is called the sense of locality. The palmar surface of the wrist was the part of the body chosen, owing to its convenience for making the experiment. The sense of locality on the skin varies in acuteness according to the mobility of the part, increasing in the extremities toward the fingers and toes.

The instrument used in determining the last sensibility to locality is the *æsthesiometer* which resembles a small pair of dividers.

The two points were drawn 15 millimetres apart. The pupil closed his eyes, and the two points were made to touch simultaneously the skin on the palmar surface of the wrist. He was asked if he felt one or two points. In case he felt only one point, the instrument was raised and the points were moved further apart. If he felt the two points, they were moved closer together. As soon as he became uncertain in either case, as to whether there were one or two points touching the skin, the distance between the points was read as recorded by the scale. It takes more acuteness to distinguish two points on the skin the closer the points are together. The distance of the

two points from each other when the pupil is in doubt, is taken as a measure of his sense of locality. The less the distance, the more acute is his sense, and the greater the distance, the more obtuse his sense to locality.

23. Dolichocephaly, or long-headedness, increases in children as ability decreases. A high percentage of dolichocephaly seems to be a concomitant of mental dullness.

24. Children are more sensitive to locality and heat on the skin before puberty than after.

25. Boys are less sensitive to locality and more sensitive to heat than girls.

26. Children of the nonlabouring classes are more sensitive to locality and heat than children of the labouring classes.

27. Coloured children are much more sensitive to heat than white children. This probably means that their power of discrimination is much better, and not that they suffer more from heat.

ART. IX.—A PILGRIM VOYAGE IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

(By the late JAMES GORDON, M.A., M.B., New College, Oxford.)

WE had been at sea for three weeks. The cargo-steamer to which I was attached as doctor had accomplished in safety the thousands of miles which separate Bombay from Singapore. After the long voyage we were thankful when the hawsers were made fast to the drums of the steam winches and slowly the S. S. "Arabia" came alongside the company's wharf at that port.

A pallid Agent stood on the wharf with letters and 'ship's papers' in his hand. He was dressed in white and wore on his head a monster mushroom hat called a topee. I looked at him critically, for he was the first European outside the ship's company whom I had seen for three weeks. His face was waxen owing to long residence in a tropical climate, and he appeared to be in ill-health.

As the big ship came closer to the wharf, he raised his hands to his mouth and shouted through the funnel of this fingers to the captain on the bridge: "Your vessel is under charter to proceed at once to Jeddah with pilgrims."

It was enough! The captain stamped his foot and swore aloud. In an instant the news spread from mouth to mouth through the ship. The Asiatic portion of the crew seemed pleased with the prospect of the voyage. The Europeans stood in groups on the deck and cursed the day they went to sea.

In her time the "Arabia" had been a first class mail ship, and visited Australia in that capacity. After twenty years of service her glory had been taken from her, and her cabins, saloons and accommodation for passengers swept away. Degraded to the rank of a cargo-steamer, if you saw the ship out at sea you would call her a "tank." Though dismantled of luxurious fittings and deprived of square ports, the Arabia was substantially built and carried masts with a stylish "rake." In her ample holds she was registered to carry three thousand tons of cargo, at the economic rate of eight knots an hour.

The Agent was the first to climb the gang-way,—we crowded round him forgetting for the moment our trouble in the desire to receive letters from home. The captain, taking him aside, said with indignation:

"Do you mean to say that our Company have chartered this ship in the Hadji trade?"

The Agent answered apologetically. I could see he was really sorry for us.

"Yes," he replied, "here is the cablegram from London ! I don't envy you, captain ; but it will soon be over. I believe the pilgrims are cleaner than a crowd of English soldiers. We have orders to fit out the ship with every convenience."

What the captain said does not matter and is better left unpublished. What he did not say, we said for him.

It was explained that the vessel had been chartered by the richest Mahomedan merchant in Singapore—one Azigoff by name. For the sum of Rs. 20,000 the ship was placed at his disposal for the term of six weeks. Having discharged cargo, the captain was ordered to await the orders of the Pilgrim Merchant.

The Agent sat down with us to lunch at the invitation of the captain in the little deck cabin set apart for our meals. The repast must have been a grievous trial to him. From the highest to the lowest, we all grumbled incessantly and continuously. The Agent heard and, listening, was edified ; he was our guest at table.

In the afternoon Azigoff in person came on board. All hands awaited his arrival with curiosity. Money had made him our master, and we were his servants.

He inspected the ship with a critical eye. He was a fat, podgy black man with black eyes which shone with the lustre of glass beads. A retinue of servants followed him, and a black boy fanned him, if he paused. His dress was white, and he wore socks and boots, above which a fat, hairy leg was displayed beneath his "sarree." For a long time he staid in the captain's cabin, and discussed the necessary arrangements of the profitable speculation.

"Your ship, captain Sahib," he said in faltering English, "have got one big belly. I put down rice and wood and make much money."

"You can put what you like into her," said the captain, who then broke off into a conversation in Hindoostani, which made the wicked eyes of the old merchant sparkle.

Our friends on shore offered no sympathy in our trouble. We were told that we ought to make our fortunes on the trip. The cabins might be let to the pilgrims at a high figure, which would well repay the privations of the voyage. Daily we discussed at table the reserve prices of our cabins. With the captain's consent we agreed to let out the dining saloon, and live "al fresco" on the forecastle. Notices printed in many oriental languages were posted to this effect in the offices of our charterer. One of the officers went so far as to advertise in a native paper the price of his cabin.

The officers, giddy with dreams of wealth, went nightly

ashore and spent money recklessly. We drank champagne at a fabulous price, and appropriated the billiard tables of the hotels for the evening. At the Tingle Tangle (Music Hall) we played havoc with the fair German musicians, and denuded the orchestra of its talent by asking the female performers to dance with us. In short, we enjoyed ourselves on the prospect of unknown gold.

Day followed day, and the tropical sun shone clearer. Satiated, with dissipation, and empty in pocket, we paused in our wild career. No offers came for the cabins, and our spirits fell with our dollars. It was clear that the passengers could not afford to avail themselves of the accommodation of our cabins even at reduced prices. Rumours were afloat concerning the substantial remuneration given by the Mahomedan merchant to the captain, chief-officer and engineer. I was strongly advised to visit the office and lay my claims before the charterer; for, as doctor to a crowded ship, I might reasonably expect compensation. I rejoice to think I never went.

The day of sailing drew near. The cargo from Bombay had been discharged, and the ship floated empty as a poor-box. Rats roved the holds half starved, and came on deck in search of food. Chinese carpenters came on board to make alterations necessary for the voyage. In my department a hospital, fifteen feet square, was constructed on the quarter deck. It was a quaint edifice made of waste wood work and old doors. Inside, a partitioned shelf was hastily patched up:—the shelf looked like a flattened manger, but ostensibly it was designed for the accommodation of patients. In the centre of the hospital vast stores of useless and antiquated medicines prescribed by Government Schedule were deposited. The forethought of the agent appended to the list of drugs three barrels of chlorinated lime, which in my belief were the most useful possession on voyage.

In the department of the Engineer there was great activity. A huge supply of coal was taken on board, sufficient to serve the ship for six weeks at the average rate of consumption. Fore'ard and aft the parts of the lower oilop decks adjacent to the coal-bunkers were stored with coal. A condenser capable of giving 2000 gallons of fresh water per diem was fitted to the steam gear of the ship. On the port side of the fiddies which protect the engine room from heavy seas, iron furnaces were erected for the convenience of the pilgrims on voyage. The deck was sheathed with iron plates, upon which the fire-places rested. Many a pot of rice boiled and many a fish have I seen braized at those fires. The Hadji puts a stick into the mouth of the fish and holding it over the fire toasts it as we in England toast a slice of bread.

The cargo was a matter of speculation on the part of Azigoff. I have a shrewd suspicion that there were others on board interested. At the time of our departure rice was cheap in Singapore, and the merchant charterer consigned many hundred tons to Jeddah. Countless tons of rice in bags were lowered into the hold, and again the rats of the "Arabia" had food to masticate.

A week before the date fixed for sailing, the pilgrims began to arrive. From day to day their numbers increased, and four days before the departure of the ship the wharf was crowded from end to end. Who they were and whence they came, I do not pretend to say. All were dark and spoke a multitude of unknown tongues. We were told that they were devout Moslems from the provinces of the Malay Peninsula; some I know came from Java and Malacca. Among them was a fair-skinned man who might easily have passed for a European. He disappeared mysteriously at Penang and did not continue the journey. The majority of the pilgrims were men in good health. But among them were women and children. Here and there one saw old, infirm persons who obviously had undertaken a journey which would be ended in the next world, they could not hope to survive the privations of the voyage. Thin and half-starved, and squatting on their luggage, they chewed sugar-cane and watched the big ship moored against the wharf.

A Government official came on board and inspected the ship. The surface space of the three decks was measured by an officer, who carried out the work with much levity. By an erratic calculation he demonstrated that the ship contained a large total of superficial feet. Seated in the Captain's cabin, the official divided the grand total by nine, which gave, by a stroke of the pen, the number of pilgrims permitted by statute to travel on the five weeks voyage to Jeddah. A document was signed setting forth to all men that the ship was capable of a burden of 1,200 pilgrims.

In my department, the officer of State expressed his admiration of the Hospital, which would have been washed overboard by a heavy sea. Taking in his hand a large bundle of chiretta, he expressed his approval of the large store of drugs prescribed by Government Schedule, and commented upon the liberality of our owner. Having drunk with us, all the officials of State departed.

The lower decks of the Arabia were suitable for rats and cockroaches, which in themselves constituted a cargo for the ship. The main-deck, ill-ventilated and unlighted, looked like the gallery of a quarry. The port-holes had long been done away with, and stray rays of light struggled to penetrate the thick circular glass panes in the iron plates. The lower deck

did not even possess the advantage of light and was completely below the water line. The vessel was a cargo ship, and ventilation of the holds had not been considered.

On the day of departure the blue Peter was run up at the fore, and the big chimney-stack of the vessel sent forth columns of thick smoke which, descending upon the waters of the harbour, flattened out into opaque wreaths. The bubble of boiling water thrilled the ship and a spray of steam burred from the escape-pipe beside the funnel. The cranes cranked in their efforts to ship more cargo. On board all was bustle and stir; lascars, serangs, quartermasters and officers rushed this way and that; Azigoff in person paraded the quarter-deck and gave orders to his agents; the fat Mahomedan surveyed the crowd of pilgrims on the wharf with the pride of a prince.

A double watch of quartermasters was ordered on duty during the night to prevent the pilgrims from boarding the ship before the appointed time. The gangways had been taken aboard over-night, and the straight side of the ship faced the crowd on the wharf like a wall.

As the hour fixed for embarkation approached, the excitement of the pilgrims became a madness. During the night the uproar on the wharf prevented our sleep. Towards morning the tumult was overpowering. Looking down from the taff-rail, we saw the long wharf crowded with natives struggling, shouting and hustling one another. From end to end the wharf was packed with our passengers and their luggage.

At 10 A.M. the deep-toned whistle of the steamer blew the signal for the pilgrims to board. Fore and aft heavy gangways were shot out from the ship and slowly lowered on to the heads of the crowd. From the bridge it looked as if some of the pilgrims must have been crushed beneath the weight. But those who should have been crushed by the gangway seized the staircase, and, climbing up the hand-rail with the agility of monkeys, rushed aboard. The crowd swayed to and fro, and, in the general rush, several of the pilgrims were carried over the edge into the sea. Those who had boarded the ship let down ropes by which whole families climbed;—the very rivets of the iron plates seemed to afford foothold.

Like flies on a cake, the pilgrims swarmed aboard. The "Arabia" heaved over with the weight of humanity scaling her side grating, with a creak against the stays of the wharf.

On the deck the scene was one of indescribable confusion. Within a few minutes of the lowering of the gang-way all the upper deck spaces beneath the awnings were occupied by pilgrims sitting on packs. With the greatest difficulty we thrust them back from the wooden barrier which had been

aced across the space in front of our cabin on the starboard

side. Finding the deck already occupied, many descended to the holds. The narrow stairway leading downwards was traversed by natives three abreast, all clinging to one another. Men climbed over the combings of the hatch and descended by the stanchions. The women, children and baggage followed down a rope which hung over the edge of the combings. Some did not deign to use the staircase or the rope, but, throwing down first their packs, dropped quickly from the stanchions. Within an hour the ship was full and several hundred tons of personal belongings had been stowed away. The Government Inspector came on board and made a show of counting the numbers. The task was impossible, the pilgrims passed from one hatch to the other and reached the deck by four hatchways. It would have been as easy to count the numbers of ants in an ant heap.

Nevertheless the official signed the requisite papers. The anchor-chain was wound up on the windlass. The hawsers were cast off from the bits on the wharf, and once again the "Arabia," with her Plimsoll line well beneath the wash, stood out to sea.

The Hadjis, leaning over the taff-rail and clinging to the stanchions, waved a long farewell to their friends on the wharf, and Azigoff our charterer, surrounded by his servants and agents, watched the ship till she was a speck on the horizon.

II.—ON VOYAGE.

As the blue, pine-apple covered hills of Singapore faded in the distance, the evil effects of over-crowding began to manifest themselves. Half-clad natives came up from the holds weltering in perspiration, and leant over the rail of the ship to get a breath of air. The air about the hatch-ways was thick and offensive. The five furnaces on the port side of the ship were lighted to enable the Hadjis to cook their food and the smoke of the fires blew back into the vessel. Children sat blubbering on the bare deck beside their mothers. Stified with their exhalations, our passengers coughed and looked fondly at the emerald islands which dot the Straits of Malacca.

The Captain had caused a barrier to be erected in front of the officers' cabins on the starboard side. Heavy planks were fixed from the ends of the deck-house, and in this way a space ten yards long was reserved for our use. Here in the afternoon we took exercise from barrier to barrier, like wild beasts in a cage. Excepting the engine room, bridge and fore-castle, this was the only unoccupied space in the ship.

It was soon found necessary to establish better means of communication between the deck-house and the bridge. The alley-ways were so crowded with pilgrims that the officers were

hindered in the work of navigating the vessel. An over-head way was made by the carpenter out of the planks belonging to our charterer, and it proved to be a great convenience. Climbing a ladder to the top of the deck-house, he could walk forward along the planks and reach the bridge by the way of the fiddies of the engine room. From the bridge a single plank led forward to the forecastle along the stanchion chains to which the ties of the awnings were attached,

The question of letting deck spaces caused much unpleasantness among the Europeans. The Chief Officer, maintaining that such spaces were set apart for the interests of the ship, ex-officio claimed all rights of administration. An Engineer of low rating sold the small deck space on the roof of his cabin for a few dollars. The "Chief," by his rights, claimed half the sum paid for the transaction. The butcher likewise did the best for himself. The sheep-pens in the well deck were unoccupied by sheep; accordingly he let the top of the pens to one family of Hadjis and the interior to another. The family of pilgrims squatting in the pen and gazing through the bars looked very quaint.

But the transaction of the butcher did not go unchallenged. The chief-steward, by the rights of a superior officer, claimed a share of the money, and, what is more, he got it. The chief officer, however, stepped in with a counter-claim, and showed much indignation. I do not know whether he obtained a share of the spoil, but I think he did not, for the butcher and chief steward held the strings of their purses with a grasp that would have choked the throat of any adversary. Our Captain rightly refused to allow the ample roof of the deck house in which the officers lived to be let to the pilgrims, who would willingly have paid for the space. But beyond this stipulation, he did not in any way interfere with the schemes of the chief officer, who was bent on making money.

By a wise regulation of the Board of Trade, two additional boats had been added to the life-saving appliances of the ship. Nevertheless the equipment of the ship in case of disaster was wholly inadequate. The number of boats would scarcely have sufficed to convey the crew alone.

The pilgrims took a special fancy to the boats which afforded an excellent resting place for the night. The dangers of crawling along the davits and secreting themselves beneath the tarpaulins appeared to increase the fascination. It became necessary, after a day's voyage, to search the boats every hour of the night, and hour by hour pilgrims were hounded out of them.

One evening I went aft to the Hospital, where there lay a man with a fractured skull; on leaving the Hospital I looked

up at the roof. There, craning their heads over the edge of the roof, like young birds looking out of a nest, were pilgrims, and many of them. I ordered them to come down; but naturally my request was met with a blank refusal, for the occupants of the Hospital roof had paid rental for their perch.

On the first night after leaving Singapore I made a tour of the ship. I could not sleep, the coughs of the pilgrims and the wild cries of the Hadjis chanting the Koran making sleep impossible. The weather was rough, at every lurch of the ship there was a soft sound of sleepers rolling on the deck; and for a moment the dreary Gregorian of the reciter ceased. The heat was frightfully oppressive and the narrow quarters of my cabin doubly stifling owing to the multitude on board. I opened the saloon door and stepped out on the port side of the ship. A skirting of cast iron covering the steam-pipes leading to the aft-winch afforded a convenient step to the door of the small saloon. On my opening the narrow door, two sitting sleepers fell back upon the brass-bound step of the saloon-entrance. They were sleeping Hadjis, dreaming perhaps of Mecca and Heaven. By the flicker of a dim lantern swinging from lashings on the boom supporting the awnings, I could see the prostrate forms of pilgrims sleeping in picturesque attitudes. Their legs deviated obliquely from the narrow path which led fore and aft the ship. A lurch of the ship caused me to stagger on the path leading to the Hospital, and, in saving myself, my booted foot came in contact with something soft and yielding. Looking down, I saw a sleeping pilgrim coiled upon himself and grasping in his hand a book—the Koran. The Hadji merely changed his position and slept on.

I went to the bridge, where the officer on watch walked slowly from side to side of the great ship. He was inclined to be cheery, and, illuminating my person with the flare of his pipe, would have entered into conversation. I leant over the rail. The moon was setting over the heaving waters. The ship, defying the swell, stood on her way, rolling heavily.

III. PENANG.

In Singapore it was announced that the Hadji-ship would proceed direct to the quarantine station in the Red-Sea: On this understanding the pilgrims had taken their passage. A mysterious rumour ran through the ship that we were under orders to anchor at Penang. As we approached the roadstead, all hands were piped to stations. A pilot came on board, under whose guidance the "Arabia" glided slowly to her anchorage, gently rippling the smooth waters of the harbour with her sharp cut-water.

In the month of March Penang is at its loveliest. The sea

is a deep oily blue and the burning rays of the tropical sun find a facet for reflection in every ripple of the water. Away in the distance palm-covered hills rise sheer in the background, and rugged peaks ascend naked to heaven from tropical forests which clothe the base of the hills. Here and there a waterfall, tumbling from a height, sparkles in the sunlight and appears to lose itself among the trees. At the foot of the hills, in a forest of palm and cocoa-nut trees, lies Penang, fringed by a narrow glistening line of coral fore-shore. On the opposite side of the harbour a mangrove swamp, infested by malaria, which yields in the earlier months of the year to a single gun a bag of fifty brace of snipe in a day.

In the road-stead of Penang the "Arabia" floated backwards and forwards at the turn of the tide. The chief engineer was ordered to let off steam. The officers availed themselves of the opportunity of landing, and, leaving a few Europeans on board we rowed ashore nightly in the jolly-boat.

Penang, like every other tropical town, has a peculiar and indescribable odour. Decaying heaps of jack fruit and tropical vegetation fermenting in the open streets emitted an odour pleasant after our experiences on the Hadji ship. As we walked to the Hotel, the cicad chirped to us from the trees which line the main street. From the balcony we watched the fire-flies dancing with flitting light.

The pilgrims remained on board, expecting the ship to sail hourly; they feared to go ashore lest they should lose their passage money. Climbing the halliards, and creeping on to the awnings, they watched the chimney-stack of the steamer and thought that the smoke from the furnace of the condenser was a sign that the vessel was under steam. The boiling sun shone down on the single awnings, which it penetrated as light does glass. In the sweltering heat of mid-day the wind fell, and not a current of air moved in the ship. Panting for breath, the pilgrims looked forward to the off-shore breeze which springs up at night.

The death-rate increased rapidly. By day and night pilgrims, mistrusting the Hospital, died in the holds. When the quartermaster woke me in the morning, I became accustomed to inquire how many people had died in the night. Daily a boat load of corpses was sent ashore to be buried.

Meantime, from the South, native boats arrived in increasing numbers, bringing more and more pilgrims. By day and night boats dropped along-side and additional passengers climbed up the ropes by which the Hadjis drew up salt water. The agents of our charterer took the passes from the new arrivals, and packed them into the lower orlop deck. In this way Azigoff was able to frustrate the regulations of the Government.

The authorities of Penang took no notice of the ship lying at anchor in the road-steads;—she was merely visiting the harbour as a port of call. By this oriental device Azigoff was able to obtain the passage money of several hundred more pilgrims.

When the ship had remained ten days at Penang, the agent of Azigoff began to show unwonted activity: on deck he assembled and dismissed bands of pilgrims entering carefully into the matter of their payments. Even that rapacious man realised that the ship was full and could hold no more. Like bees in a swarm the pilgrims crowded the ship.

The prices of deck spaces rose with a bound. The chief officer regretted that he had not saved his speculations for the better market now afforded. At length the stations were piped, and, with a grating sound, the anchor of the "Arabia" parted from the mud of Penang. Slowly answering her helm, the ship came round on the ebb of the tide and steamed out to sea.

Prostrating themselves, the pilgrims sought their grass-plaited mats, and, folding their arms across their chests, knelt towards the setting sun that shone over the bows of the ship. In deep obeisance they bent forward till their foreheads touched the deck, and then, as the setting sun lit up their faces, kneeling upon the mat, they muttered in quick whispers their prayers.

Aft, on the quarter-deck, the high priest, dressed in white and wearing the green of the Hadjis, read from a parchment Koran in his hand the evening song of the Mussulman. As the rim of the blazing sun touched the horizon, a song of prayer went up from every pilgrim. Thus the sun set upon the Hadji ship, and in a moment the after-glow faded out over the purple waters of the horizon.

IV. THE DOCTOR OF THE HADJI SHIP.

The position of a doctor on board a Hadji Ship containing upwards of 2,000 pilgrims is fraught with grave responsibilities. There is always the danger of an epidemic; had small-pox or cholera appeared in our midst, I cannot imagine what would have happened. The Hospital and the boats, which afforded the only available accommodation, would have been totally insufficient.

My difficulties were considerably increased by ignorance of the Malay language, which was understood by nearly all the pilgrims. But with the aid of Hindoostani and an interpreter I was able to ascertain the complaint of the patient. Occasionally the interpreter himself, a thorough Malay, seemed beaten, and failed to make the patient understand. The Malay language is modified in some districts by colloquialisms beyond recognition.

As, comparatively speaking, the Hospital was large and commodious, the sick among the pilgrims did not overcrowd the institution. During the chief part of the voyage the eight shelves were empty.

I remember being called for'ard to see a man in a fit. He was ordered to be removed to the Hospital. His wife, weeping bitterly, implored that he might be allowed to remain on deck. The man was lifted from the box on which he sat and carried aft ; and the couple so appreciated the comfort of the Hospital that they remained in it for the rest of the voyage. But the wife never forgave me, for in her short absence the family box had been looted and their money stolen.

The Hadjis showed great want of confidence in the European doctor and preferred to treat themselves. If they died on the voyage, they were confident that their souls would rest in heaven, and evidently they did not intend to risk the chance of salvation by taking European medicine. I flattered myself into the belief that the aversion of the pilgrims to the Hospital was merely a perversion of the confidence based on the idea that treatment might deter salvation.

It was the duty of the doctor and chief officer in company to visit the holds of the ship night and morning. It was a very necessary precaution to prevent the undetected out-break of an epidemic in our midst. In compliance with orders from the captain, we went below and inspected the ship. Separating at the foot of the wooden staircase which led over the combings of the hatch to the main deck, the chief officer went along the starboard side and I groped my way along the port side of the hold.

I climbed and crawled over the numerous bundles of the pilgrims' luggage, which in places were piled up to the roof. Like a man crossing a stream by stepping stones, I jumped from bundle to bundle. The darkness of the hold was illuminated by the glow of the pilgrims' hookahs : here and there, a pilgrim, squatting on his baggage, held a tiny lamp in his hand by the light of which he chanted and read aloud the Koran. In certain places the path was perfectly dark, and one had to climb along a tunnel beneath the cross girders of the deck : if one met a Hadji crawling in the opposite direction, one or other had to go back.

The ventilation, so far as there was any, came from the main shafts of the ship. A huge canvas ear-shaped air tube was lashed to the upper rigging, and, with a head-wind, created a perceptible current of air. The opening of the air-shaft was carried down to the bottom of the hold. On the maindeck there were circular brass-mounted plates of thick glass which admitted a little light and air. In rough weather it was

necessary to close these small openings, through which the sea rushed at every lurch of the ship. Many of these plate-glass port-holes had been closed, for they served no use in a cargo ship. The atmosphere was stifling and horrible : words cannot describe its oppressiveness.

These inspections had such an effect upon us, that the chief officer and myself found it necessary to divide the interior of the ship into sections, each of which we visited in turn. Starting from the aft hatch, we travelled forward and issued at the main hold, where we ascended on deck and took breath before going further forward.

The worst place in the ship was the orlop deck, where the latest arrivals of pilgrims were forced to take refuge. This deck was completely below the water-line and lay just above the bilge, where, like ribs sloping to the spine, the big iron beams of the frame of the ship are drawn in towards the keel. At the end adjacent to the coal-bunkers, an accessory supply of coal had been stowed away. As the journey progressed, it was found necessary to open the bulk-heads and remove the coal, the place of which was quickly occupied by the pilgrims.

The orlop deck was an awful dungeon in which men and women, touching one another, slept from sheer exhaustion. Whenever I visited the hold, half the occupants were asleep. Well I remember turning over the form of an old man who appeared to be in a deep sleep : he proved to be dead, and, while he was yet warm, was carried on deck for burial. It was no uncommon occurrence to find a family seated on their baggage in the hold around the corpse of a relative, wailing like professional mourners. Although the relatives were sure that the departed had gone to heaven, with true human instinct they wept for the loss.

Among the pilgrims there were professional undertakers—keen lithe Arabs of whom Abdullah Hiram was the chief. Of this man it will be necessary to speak further. Abdullah and his partners charged a fee for their office, and it was an exorbitant one. A pilgrim refused to pay the sum demanded—he was an old man reputed to be rich, and he buried his wife. There was, in consequence, a disturbance, and the Captain was called in to arbitrate. The body was left exposed on the gang-way while the dispute was being settled.

The port gangway was the burial place. Decency shrouded it off with an awning, for here also the pilgrims stood naked, and, drawing up water in their buckets, emptied the contents upon their heads. In short, it was by turns a bathing and a burial place.

The limp dead were carried on deck by their heads and

heels, and deposited by their relatives among the undertakers, who washed and dressed the corpse. In the case of the poor, fire-bars were lashed round the body with a rope, and with little ceremony the dead were committed to the deep. With the rich, elaborate preparations were necessary. The body was carefully washed and robed. The corpse, heavily weighted with iron fire-bars, was sewn into a canvass shroud. The priests chanted, the relations wailed, and with a splash the dead was shot off from the gang-way on its journey through the depths.

During the voyage of five weeks fifty pilgrims died. There may have been more or less than two thousand on board; the numbers were never properly counted. If two thousand is the unascertained number of pilgrims, the death-rate on board would give a death-return of 25 per cent. per annum. At this rate the return would be 250 per mille, and if the pilgrims had remained four years on board they would have been exterminated. Compare these figures with the death-rate of London, which at the highest scarcely reaches 20 per mille during the year.

It is a difficult matter to certify the correct cause of death on viewing the dead, but it had to be done. Daily, bodies were brought out of the hold, and I was required to describe the cause of death. An autopsy of the corpse would have been impossible as well as dangerous. According to the appearance of the body I wrote in the log book, senility, debility or apoplexy.

Undoubtedly influenza carried off many of the pilgrims; at least, most of those who came under observation died from disease of the lungs accompanied by high fever. At the same time the symptoms might equally well have been ascribed to the foul atmosphere of the ship. The reluctance of the devout Mussulman to take stimulants in any form constituted a great difficulty in treatment, it was necessary to administer rum as medicine and it restored many of those who would otherwise have died. The spirit may have jeopardised their salvation, but it saved their lives.

We adopted a novel course for the distribution of chlorinated lime, a disinfectant which was of great value on the voyage. It would have been impossible to distribute the disinfectant by hand throughout the crowded ship. In the pathway leading fore and aft on the starboard-side a big heap of the white powder was daily replenished. The bare feet of the pilgrims as they walked along the path took up small portions of the powder which was in this way carried to all parts of the ship. At the end of the voyage the narrow footpaths on the deck of the "Arabia" were caked with

chlorinated lime trodden into the planks by many thousands of feet. Like rabbits returning to their holes carrying mud from distant fields upon their feet, the pilgrims distributed the disinfectant to all parts of the ship.

V. THE MUTINY.

The relations existing between the Europeans and the Pilgrims were far from cordial ; there was no love lost on either side. The Hadjis, bent upon an expedition which aroused all their religious fervour, like the Crusaders of old, felt it their duty to strike at all unbelievers.

It must be remembered that not one half of the pilgrims expected to return to their native land. They carried their lives in their hands and fully realised that their souls would go to heaven if they died on the journey. Their motive was simple ; Mecca or heaven.

The Europeans, on the other hand, worshipped the unholy trinity of Pounds, Shillings, and Pence. All went well so long as the ship was directed upon its proper course and money came into the pocket. Had not a Scotchman among the Engineers twice let the space over the cabin, and twice taken money ? The pilgrims waxed indignant at the imposition, and attributed their privation and discomfort to the rapacity of the captain and officers.

Many legends concerning the Hadji trade were revived. A ghastly story was told about a certain engineer who, retiring late to his cabin, found the door blocked by sleeping forms of pilgrims. He must have been drunk. In a fit of passion he connected up the hose pipe with the steam pipe and sprayed boiling water down the alley way. Seven men were scalded to death on the spot. They say that the engineer disappeared out of the ship, the pilgrims having thrown him over-board. Another story relates how a broken down Hadji ship was deserted by all the European officers in the open seas, and left to perish. This vessel was taken in tow and saved by an English steamer belonging to a firm who have, owing to salvage, a very large interest at the present time in the Hadji trade. Another story tells how a cholera-stricken Hadji ship was passing through the Suez Canal, in which regulation forbade the burial of the dead. The pilgrims were dying by the score, and the living lay in contact with the dead. Matters became so bad that at last the Captain ordered the corpses to be slung over the side on the end of a rope. Thus, dangling over the side the dead slung with ropes round their necks, the Hadji ship passed through the canal and dropped the dead in the open waters of the Red Sea.

In their ignorance the pilgrims did not realize that they

were the victims of those of their own sect—the charterer and his agents on board. They attributed their distress to the avariciousness of the Europeans. The officers, leaning over the barrier, watched the evening prayer, and made disparaging remarks flavoured with unmistakable rankle of coarse English sarcasm. They stood before the pious Hadji kneeling on his mat and laughed derisively in his mumbling face.

The chief disparagers of the pilgrims were the Scotch Engineers. Their quarter lay amid-ships in the thick of the crowd: the smoke of the furnaces at which the pilgrims cooked their food, blew back into their mess room, and their cabin doors were constantly obstructed by Hadjis. Many of the shrewd Scotchmen had made money out of the pilgrims, but they did not consider that the money taken compensated their personal inconveniences. With a curse, they disparaged the devotion and self-sacrifice of the pilgrims whose sufferings and poverty made no impression upon them. Among the Engineers was one A—— who, having received a technical education in the factories at Glasgow, had risen to the rating of a marine engineer. He was a lank, bony fellow with long arms and sandy hair. I heard he could play the mandolin and swear against any other man in the ship. With my own eyes I have seen A—— walking the engineers' alley-way and deliberately treading upon the pilgrims with heavy boots as if he were treading out slugs or snails on a garden path. The Hadjis wriggled under cover; but they remembered the crush of his heavy foot, and waited a chance of revenge—as only an Oriental can wait.

Eight bells had gone from the bridge. A——, clad in Japanese kimono and light shoes, stepped out of the bath-room of the engineers. A sponge was in his hand and a rough towel waved upon his arm. Close to the door Abdullah Hiram, in yellow zouave, squatted on his hunkers, and obstructed with his person the opening of the door. Without a thought to consequences, A—— swore and kicked the Arab. In a moment Abdullah sprang to his feet, and, with little thin arms outstretched, jumped on the Scotchman with the spring of a cat. The long thin fingers of the Arab grappled at the throat of the European, who fell back overpowered. The veins on his forehead swelled under the pressure at his throat; his face became tinged and dusky; he tried to shout, but his tongue hung palsied in his mouth and breath failed.

Abdullah foamed in his ecstatic fury, and, clenching tighter his two hands, banged the head of his adversary upon the teak planks of the deck. A crowd of pilgrims gathered round the group, and cursed the insulting unbeliever. A Malay secured the feet of A—— with a rope and tied fast the knot. In a

moment he would have been silently thrown overboard. Abdullah, releasing his murderous grasp, looked round upon the willing group for support.

Pani men dallo, he hissed interrogatively. And they lifted the senseless body in their arms.

It happened that I was going to the bath-room along the overhead way and had been an unseen witness of the latter part of this scene. I rushed to the bridge, and, shouting to the officer on watch to follow, cleared the bridge stair-case with a bound. We forced our way through the crowd which was beginning to collect. Just as the prostrate engineer was being raised to the level of the rail, we came to the rescue. We untied the rope round his feet, and A——, bewildered, opened his blood-shot eyes. Abdullah gesticulated and talked rapid Hindoostani pointing to the bruise inflicted by the engineer.

Looking round, I could at once read the feelings of the Hadjis from the expressions on their faces. In every language an oath is intelligible; and the man who swears in a foreign tongue carries an unknown weight with his words. I have proved it scores of times: to swear in the language of the country is a mistake: after all there is nothing like English for expression. The Hadjis swore at us in their own tongue which was unintelligible to most of the Europeans, But I understood.

We raised the white man to his feet and led him aft. Abdullah followed, leading a rabble of enraged pilgrims. I was never more thankful in my life than when, reaching the engine-room stair-case, we hurriedly pushed A—— through the door-way, and saw the tottering steps of the Scotchman disappearing down the narrow iron stair-case.

An inquiry was held in the captain's cabin, and the evidence of witnesses lasted several hours. Abdullah, uttering threats, remonstrated and gesticulated with vehemence. He walked about the captain's cabin with a confident air, and put before the commander very forcibly the grievances of the pilgrims. A jabbering crowd of them thronged the barrier near the captain's cabin and looked at us with unfriendly eye.

The captain sent for the chief engineer, who appeared cap in hand.

"Where is Mr. A——, inquired the commander.

"Safe below, sir," said the engineer with a twinkle in his eye. "I think it will be better for him to stay below for the rest of the voyage."

The captain turned to Abdullah and said in Hindoostani:

"He is punished for his offences and will stay below for the rest of the voyage."

It is well for A—— that he did live for the rest of the voyage in the engine-room:

In single file two Hadjis, watch by watch, and day and night walked up and down in front of the engine-room door and glared at the entrance like lions watching the bars of their cage. There is no doubt that, had the Scotchman appeared on deck, he would have been thrown over the side, dead or alive.

The captain did not take the precaution of confiscating offensive weapons on the voyage ; it is the custom on all Hadji ships to deprive the pilgrims of fire-arms. Of course, the men must have knives and hatchets to cook their food and cut their firewood. Owing to this error of judgment we ran a considerable risk of mutiny and blood-shed. The pilgrims, to our knowledge, had fire-arms beneath padlock and key, with which they intended to defend themselves against the Bedawins, robbers of the desert. We felt safe as long as the ship was out of sight of land, for, though most of the pilgrims were sailors and accustomed to the sea, not one of them could navigate the ship. The use of the compass was entirely unknown to them.

The incident with A——, the engineer, increased the ill-feeling existing between the pilgrims and Europeans. As I went daily through the holds, I could hear them spit on the deck, the greatest insult a Mussulman can offer, next to calling his foe a pig.

Abdullah, leader, guide, extortioner of the pilgrims, knew, from frequent journeys, every stone and every ship on the way to Meccah. Nine times had he visited Meccah, and he was a Hadji wearing the green to the ninth power. Nine times had he vowed to live celibate and abstain from spirit according to the rules governing true Hadjis. But familiarity with holy places had engendered wantonness in this excellent Hadji, and his halo was unstarched and crumpled.

Abdullah was the officiating representative of our charterer, whose interests he guarded with strict integrity. In the absence of the high priests, he chanted the Mahomedan Service at sundown. Aided by various important personages, he superintended the burial of the dead from the gangway, and charged an exorbitant fee for the office. Abdullah was a man of means and resources : he could make himself intelligible to all our motley passengers, and spoke all the languages of the East. The Arab was not a bad fellow. At the Hospital he afforded the greatest help ; and, though he was mean and grasping at their funerals, he was kind and considerate to the sick lying on the shelves. As a reward for interpretation I gave him daily two doses of Jamaica rum, which he, forgetting his vows, swallowed with much appreciation.

The dignity of the Arab had been injured by the Scotch

engineer. Like all orientals, he was slow to forget and slow to forgive. A wild spirit of revenge filled his soul.

The incident in which A—— nearly lost his life, occurred within sight of land, when the ship was passing the Cape de Galle. The pilgrims pointed to the cocoa-nut palms fringing the coral fore-shore, and, with open Korans, indicated the tropical garden of our common ancestress—Eva, as they called her.

During the twelve days run to the Gulf of Aden the pilgrims, out of sight of land, grew restless, and the flame of their discontent was fanned by Abdullah. They wore upon their faces the disappointed look of a dog ready to bite, but tied by a chain.

At last we sighted land, the barren rocks of Socotra. The Hadjis, in their excitement, climbed the awnings and ropes, shouting "Arabie." The barren look of the shore, destitute of vegetation, suggested the sun-burnt sandy wastes of Arabia Felix. The pilgrims, gazing at the purple rugged cliffs, felt new assurance. At length the promised land, girt with sand and coral, had been sighted, and over the sand-heaps and desert lay Meccah.

It was the duty of the third officer to superintend the distribution of fresh water from the condenser. Seated on the tarpaulins covering the winch for'ard the main hold, he smoked, watching the motley array of pilgrims, who occupied two hours of his attention every morning.

A long ragged crowd of half-dressed pilgrims, carrying empty kerosine tins upon their heads, waited at the barrier on the starboard side. From fore and aft streams of Hadjis converged to the barrier, at which, showing their passes, they received in return the prescribed gallon per head. Having obtained his rations, the pilgrim passed away by the port side of the ship to his quarters.

The Lascars, arrayed in blue blouses and red turbans, guarded the barriers, and allowed the pilgrims to pass one by one. Hitherto the proceedings during the voyage had been quiet and orderly. The Lascars did the work, and the officer in charge smoked, reclining on the tarpaulin of the winch.

Suddenly a Hadji crept out of turn beneath the barrier, dragging an empty kerosine tin after him. A Lascar detected the pilgrim in the act of breaking the regulations and pushed the man back. The tin fell on the deck with a loud clang. In a moment the resisting Hadji was felled to the deck by a blow from the sturdy sailor.

A hoarse roar of disgust and a hiss of reproach went up from the crowd of Hadjis who witnessed the encounter: they dropped the tins from their heads, and, with curses on their lips, pressed forward. In a moment the massive barrier was

carried away by the weight of the infuriated pilgrims, who swept in a mad rush past the officer. It was fortunate that the latter was able to take refuge behind the winch. Leaning against the railing round the combings of the main hatch, he was comparatively safe from the fury of the pilgrims, who were intent on punishing the Lascars. The Lascars, driven back by the stampede, fled for'ard, seeking refuge in the forecastle. Jumping over odd arms and legs in their path, they reached their quarters before the general alarm had been given.

Lying in my bunk, I heard the press of countless feet and the wild shouts of the flying Lascars. I knew that something had happened, but what?—On ship-board the very keel may drop out of the vessel without the knowledge of the passengers. I hurried on my uniform and went for'ard.

The entrance of the forecastle was narrow, allowing the ingress of a man of small stature : a two-foot massive stay blocked the lower part of the door-way which in heavy weather prevents the sea from reaching the inhospitable quarters of the forecastle. On the starboard side the Lascars had their quarters, and slept on rough shelves, beneath which their heavy seamen's chests were pushed out of the way. On the port side the Zanzibaree fuzzies—wuzzies, who were employed in the work of the engine-room, resided. At the time of the disturbance it chanced that the stokers and hands working below-deck were changing watch in the forecastle, which was crowded with men who had just risen from their bunks. The Hadjis followed the Lascars to the starboard entrance of the forecastle, and filled the approach, narrowed by the crews' galley and the cabins of the quarter-masters. At the door-way the Lascars made some show of resistance ; but the pilgrims forced an entrance of the forecastle and collared the offending sailor who had done his duty at the barrier.

The forecastle of a merchantman is sacred to its occupants, and the Seedy boys resented the intrusion of the pilgrims. Without much difficulty the Seedy boys—äg-wallas and pani-wallas—ejected the intruders, and stood guarding the entrance to the forecastle. Heavy clubs were produced from their boxes ; each man in the forecastle had some primitive weapon of offence.

The crisp-haired Zanzibarees, independent gentlemen satisfied with a pair of boots and a high hat, from the beginning of the voyage, showed no sympathy with the enthusiasm of the pilgrims. Unlike the officers, they did not tread upon them and insult them, but merely passed them by in callous contempt. They despised them from their hearts. Frequent ocean voyages and the examples of superiors had deprived the Seedy of religious sentiment, and shattered his primitive faith to atoms.

The Seedy boys held the entrances of the fore-castle as chained dogs hold the approach of their kennels. Most of them wore—so far as they were clothed—oily rags which served in turn for trowsers and shirt. Dirty from the crown of their head to the soles of their feet, begrimed about the eyelashes with coal dust, they kept back the rush of pilgrims to the fore-castle.

Lying in the bunk of my cabin, I heard the cry of fury and the rush of the multitude of bare feet. I climbed the wooden staircase on the side of the deck cabin and ran forward along the planking to the bridge. The officer on duty could not leave the watch, and he hurriedly told me that a serious disturbance was afoot. Beneath the bridge all was confusion: the word of alarm had been given, and Hadjis poured out of the hold like bees in swarm. For'ard the well-deck was packed with a yelling crowd, choking the entrances of the fore-castle. Each man of the crowd held in his hand a chopper or stick, and here and there a revolver stuck up from the sea of heads, supported by a thin hand.

In haste I ran along the single plank beside the stanchions to the fore-castle. Lowering myself over the roofs of the cabins, I descended into the narrow gap separating the crew from the Hadjis.

I do not altogether remember what happened. I know I said: "Atcha." I put out my hands, and, with a gesture of Moses standing between the living and the dead, endeavoured to widen the interval between the pilgrims and the Seedees. Never shall I forget the sight of the savage faces of the Seedees peering round the entrance of the fore-castle. Then the captain and chief officer came on the scene, and how they got there I do not know. I felt the touch of their clothing and recognized the English accent of their Hindoostani. The guilty Lascar was produced from the fore-castle. The captain led the sailor aft for trial. A rush of half naked blacks surrounded us, and Hadjis struggled to approach the sailor and shout a curse in his ear. We were swept aft, past the stewards cabin, past the bathroom, till we came to the staircase of the bridge, where the captain obtained foothold and ascended, dragging the Lascar after him.

On the bridge all the Europeans of the ship were collected. They had opened the case in the chart room and taken out the fire-arms. It was found that the cartridges would not fit the breach of the revolvers. Save for half a dozen rifles and boiling water from a hose-pipe, we were helpless. The chief blocked the approach to the bridge with arms on either rail. Standing high on the stair-case above the crowd, he was in a position to keep back the rush which followed the steps of the Lascar.

Beneath us the pilgrims completely blocked the well-deck : from the pressure on all sides, the mass of human beings, yelling taunts and insults, was stationary. Clinging to the stanchions, Hadjis hung in clusters, like hop-vines climbing a hop-pole.

The fore-mast and rigging were dense with devout Moslems, who, contrary to orders, had climbed thither to watch the turn of events. In the back-ground near the galley the Seedy boys, standing shoulder to shoulder, glared defiantly at the mob of pilgrims.

Abdullah of the yellow zouave wrestled with the Chief on the staircase and eventually managed to creep beneath his out-spread arms. Gesticulating vehemently and talking at a rapid rate, the leader of the pilgrims stood before the captain on the bridge and confronted the limp Lascar, upon whom the wrath of the pilgrims was centred. The Arab dashed his hand within a few inches of the sailor's nose, and, craning forward his neck, swore in Hindoostani and Arabic. Standing on tip-toe, he agitated himself like a marionette before the Lascar.

Two enraged Hadjis climbed the staircase to the bridge behind Abdullah and in broken Hindoostani taxed the Lascar with undue violence. An inquiry was held, and the third officer, who had witnessed the quarrel, was called. He did not deny that the Lascar had struck a pilgrim, who by this time had crept up on the bridge and sat trembling on his hunkers, a very abject sight of misery with a bruise upon his forehead.

There were loud cries in Malay, Arabic and Hindoostani.

"Kala pani men dallo " (throw him in to the blue waters).

Hadjis tried to climb the staircase, and were pushed back by force. Still the crowd shouted : "Throw him overboard;" and Abdullah talked faster and faster. The pilgrims insisted that the Lascar should be thrown over-board and clamoured loudly. The captain refused to entertain the idea, and repeatedly told Abdullah that such an act would entail terrible consequences to himself. The officer on watch saw on the horizon the smoke of an approaching steamer. Unbidden by the captain, he ordered the quartermaster to run up signals for assistance. The course of the "Arabia" was altered and the ship bore down upon the unknown vessel, which proved to be a British steamer.

The pilgrims in the rigging also saw the vessel and abated their clamour. The word of warning was passed aft, travelling from mouth to mouth.—The crowd began to disperse, and Hadjis innumerable climbed down from the awnings and rigging on to the deck.

Abdullah held a council with two ragged Hadjis on the bridge, and controlled his vehemence.

"Sahib," said Abdullah to the captain, "if you beat him, we will be content.

"No," replied the Captain, "he shall not be beaten upon my ship."

Again Abdullah consulted with his followers.

"Sahib," said Abdullah "we will be content if the Lascar is bound in prison for three days."

The captain acceded to the request, and by his orders the Lascar, who had done his duty, was led away to the upper bridge, where he was bound to the binnacle. For three days and three nights the sailor was condemned to do penance for his integrity and remain without food and drink.

After two hours spent in useless wrangle with the Hadjis, we sat down at 4 p.m. to tiffin and discussed the problems of the disturbance.

The scape-goat for our sins was bound to the binnacle of the upper bridge, and the crowd of Hadjis had dispersed so far as they could in crowded quarters. The British steamer passed on the starboard side, dipping her flag in answer to our salutation; and the "Arabia," making eight knots an hour, steamed through the blue waters of the Straits of Babel-Mandeb to Kamorin in the Red Sea.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. X.—A CHITTAGONG FAMILY.

THE Rai Family of Paroikora trace their connection with the Chittagong District as far back as the middle of the 16th Century, when their ancestor, Sadananda Das, is said to have emigrated thither from Western Bengal. For more than a century after this date Chittagong was the bone of contention between the Moghuls, the Arrakanese and the Tipperas. The district was "imperfectly conquered" from the Arrakanese by Akbar, and its revenue was only approximately estimated in Todar Mal's settlement of 1582. It was not until the Nawab Shaista Khan successfully invaded the district, in 1666, that Chittagong was actually incorporated with the Moghul Empire.

Sadananda Das was a member of the Salankayana gotra of the Baidya caste, and his family was probably, therefore, of Northern Indian origin, as this sub-caste is rarely found in Lower Bengal.

As was the case with other early immigrants from Bengal, it is probable that Sadananda and his descendants took service, first, with the Arrakanese rulers. At any rate it is certain that after the Moghul conquest the family rose to a position of influence at the Court of the Nawabs, as the title of Rai, which was conferred upon Ananta Das, fourth in descent from Sadananda, clearly indicates. Several members of the family also received the titles of Kanungo and Lala, which show that they were employed by the Moghuls in the keeping of the revenue accounts of the district. The office of Kanungo was an important one during the period of oscillation in revenue administration which preceded the Permanent Settlement. The Kanungoes of Chittagong resided at Dacca, and retained local agents at Chittagong, whose business it was to keep the land revenue accounts. In 1788 there were three Kanungoes, who collected from the Zemindars a sum of Rs. 1,872 per annum for their maintenance.

During the first two centuries after Sadananda's arrival at Chittagong, his descendants had acquired a large quantity of landed property in the district and many of the large Tarafs or estates in Chittagong bear the names of members of the family. Thus Taraf Briguram Kanungo, Raj Ballabh Kanungo and Braja Kishor were acquired during this period and named after the grantees. Eighth in descent from Sadananda was Kali Charan Rai, whose name is still a household word in the district. He was one of the farmers with whom Mr. Goodwin, who was Chief of Chitta-

gong and a friend of Warren Hastings, concluded the settlement of 1774. Kali Charan was born in 1754, so that he was 6 years old when the district was ceded by Mir Jaffier Khan to the English. He was appointed Dewan, or head revenue officer, in 1784, an office which he held until his death in 1790, being the first native of Chittagong to hold this post. He acquired the island of Maiskhal under rather peculiar circumstances. This island, which lies off the coast opposite to Cox's Bazar, was originally granted by Warren Hastings's Government to one Robert Worlledge. This transaction was completed in 1782, and in the same year M. Worlledge transferred his title for Rs. 20,000 to Mr. Charles Croftes, who was then Collector of Chittagong. Mr. Croftes sold his interest in the island to Kali Charan for Rs. 40,000 in January, 1786, and the island has remained ever since in the possession of the family.

Kali Charan had three wives, of whom Probbabati is a well known character in Chittagong history. Kali Charan had left no sons living, and Probbabati adopted a boy named Chandi Charan Rai. The adopted son rose to be treasurer, and in that capacity committed large defalcations, which were brought to the notice of the Collector, who suspended Chandi Charan, announcing his intention to examine the cash on the following day. Chandi Charan was, however, equal to the occasion. He contrived to procure the missing cash, and to have it replaced in the treasury during the night ; but, in order to do so, he was compelled to sell or mortgage all the family property with the exception of Maiskhal Island. The management of the island devolved upon Probbabati, who, by the exercise of great prudence and ability, contrived not only to preserve it from the extravagance of her adopted son, but greatly to develope its resources.

Probbabati lived until 1826, and her sound common sense and business capacity have rendered her famous in the annals of the district. She, moreover, built and endowed the shrine of Adhinath, which, perched high upon a hill that overhangs the blue waters of the Maiskhal Channel, is an object of pilgrimage and worship second only in the district to the shrines of Sitakund. After Probbabati's death, in 1826, the Court of Wards assumed management of the family estates during the minority of Chandi Charan's son, Sarat Chandra. Sarat Chandra Rai attained his majority in 1841, and survived until 1876. He cleared the property of the encumbrances which had been created by the extravagance of his father, and purchased large landed estates on the mainland. He was succeeded by his son Kailas Chandra Rai, who still further added to the family estates. Kailas Chandra was of an artistic temperament, and

cultivated the arts of painting, carving and music. He died in 1889, leaving a son Prosonna Kumar Rai, who has inherited the now considerable family property. He was educated in Calcutta, and is an enlightened landlord, a member of the District Board, and an Honorary Magistrate.

This sketch has followed the fortunes of a Chittagong family for three hundred and fifty years. Thirteen generations have passed away since Sadananda Das made his way to the district, and only once has the line of blood descent been broken. That breach threatened the very existence of the family, and it has been seen how its fortunes were saved from ruin by the energy of Probbabati, and by the spirit which she infused into her successors. The history of this great lady, at once pious and prudent, should serve as a bright example to her sex in Bengal, where the conditions of life rarely permit the attainment by a woman of the position which she filled so nobly. Her name should be a household word in Bengal, and her memory should be cherished, as of one who was 'full of good works' and a brilliant example of all that is best in womanhood.

ART. XI.—THE MALABAR TENANTRY AND THE IMPROVEMENTS BILL.

(From the Tenants' point of view.)

MALABAR is peculiar in most things, and in none perhaps more so than in its apparently complex system of land tenures. Nowhere else in India is to be found a system of feudal polity wherein the prevailing modes as to the possession and enjoyment of land are so many and involved, and disputes arising therefrom of such frequent occurrence, as in the Malayalam Country, *i. e.*, the tract of country which comprises British Malabar and the native states of Travancore and Cochin, and stretches down to Cape Comorin. An examination of the nature and peculiarities of the more important of these tenures, will, indeed, prove an interesting and instructive study : a study especially seasonable at the present time, when the Malabar Tenant's Improvements Bill is looming prominently on the Legislative horizon, and the respective rights and relations of landlord and tenant form, throughout the length and breadth of Malabar, the topic of every-day talk and discussion. To most men, such a study will come in the light of a revelation ; and if only it serves to open the eyes of our legislators and of the Government to the state of things as they really exist, its result indeed will have been most beneficial.

But before proceeding to enquire into the general question of the tenure of land and of tenants' rights in Malabar, I think it will be best to offer here a few remarks on some of the more salient features of the new Bill under discussion,—remarks incidental to the question of land as a whole, and throwing a lurid side light on some of the more crucial problems connected with its occupancy.

The Bill, on the face of it, aims at giving relief to tenants, and, in whatever shape it eventually passes into law, it will, as goes without saying, touch the pockets and tell on the interests of tenants : for tend it must, in one way or another, either to materially better their condition as a class, or to depress them more than heretofore. The Bill has no such close and direct bearing on the weal and prosperity of landlords. Its effect, so far as they are concerned, is comparatively unimportant. There are reasons for this. For one thing, the number of *jenmies* (or landlords) is small, disproportionately small compared with the number of tenants. Often rich and powerful *jenmies*—not to speak of *jenmies* of the first magnitude like the Zamorin, the Kuthiravattath Nair, and the Varikashire Nambudripad, for

instance—have several hundreds of tenants under them. Then, again, the *jenmies* (unlike the tenants, whom they often rack-rent and oppress, and generally evict every twelve years) are, as a rule, a thriving and a flourishing class. As for the tenant, on the contrary, his holding is all he has, and land to him is everything. His capital is narrow in the extreme; often he has none, and is obliged to borrow his seed grain. His resources are extremely limited. The class of capitalist farmers with ample means, abundance of manure and haulage power at their disposal, is in Malabar, a rarity. But the *jenmies* stand on a different footing. The majority of them know no lack of ways and means. They are tritons among minnows by hereditary right. Spoiling the Egyptians, or their modern equivalents, the tenants, is their hereditary pastime. They, as a class, regard this as a perfectly justifiable procedure, in thorough keeping with their right of *dominium*, or absolute *jenmian* ownership. They have no end of devices—indeed, they have elevated it into, and cultivate and practise it as, a fine art—for sponging on the hard-earned cash of their original co-proprietors, the tenants. A common device with a *jenmi* is to accept from his *kanakkaran* a considerable *douceur*, or earnest money (say Rs. 10,000), and in return allow him credit for a *kanom* claim of only a much smaller sum (say Rs. 1,000), as the amount advanced by him. Again, what often happens is that, just before the expiry of the customary twelve years, the *jenmi* makes a better bargain with some new tenant. He pockets another *douceur* and demands the restoration of the land of the original *kanakkaran*, returning the amount advanced by him. Or he gives a *melcharth* (writ of revocation) to the new tenant, which authorises him to evict the former tenant from his holding. Then comes the periodical renewal fees (*polichabthu*), forming one of the regular sources of a *jenmie's* income, formerly amounting in the most favourable cases to about 25 per cent. of the mortgage advance, but now, however, extravagantly enhanced. Over and above these, a *jenmi* exacts from his vassal sundry customary fees and perquisites (just as a feudal lord in the Middle Ages received from his tenant aids, reliefs, and benevolences); offerings, as when permission is sought of the local chieftain by a dependant to erect a porter's lodge, build a tiled or two-storeyed dwelling-house, or celebrate a marriage or *tali-kettu-kalyanam*, with becoming pomp and ceremony; presents on high days and festivals, as during the *Onam*, when it is incumbent on every dependent to visit his Suzerain and acknowledge his fealty; and fines and penalties for breaches of caste law or of social usage.

These rights and privileges (?) of theirs, the *jenmies* exercise

in virtue of their vaunted birth right of *dominium*, or full absolute property in the soil,—an altogether erroneous and indefensible doctrine first promulgated by the Joint Commissioners in the proclamation of 1793 and since reiterated by the Civil Courts in accordance with the Sadr Adalat circular of 1856,—under a serious misapprehension of the *jenmi's* true position in regard to land as a mere hereditary grantee and holder.

In regard to the Malabar Tenant's Improvements Bill itself, the prevailing opinion seems to be that it is likely to prove beneficial only to the people of North Malabar. It cannot, indeed, prove beneficial to the people of South Malabar, because there most of the tenants' holdings consist of rice fields. This, however, is not the case in North Malabar, where *naucha* (i. e., wet) lands are few in number, if not the exception, and *kûrikûr* and *chamayam* holdings (corresponding respectively to the plantations and fixtures known to the English Common Law, and as such entitled to compensation for improvements on the land) are the rule: the former including all fruit-bearing trees, shrubs, and vines; the latter comprising all sorts of buildings, such as houses, cow-stalls, tanks, wells granaries, walls &c.

Thus, in South Malabar, where the number of garden lands is small, the only class of tenements—the word is used in its original proper and legal sense—for which anything like adequate compensation can be claimed on eviction, is that designated by the term *kudiyiripu*. The *jenmies* know this only too well, and accordingly what they do is this: they demise on *kanom* the latter kind of holdings for which they shall be bound to pay compensation, separately; and wet lands, or rice fields, for which no compensation can lie, also separately. And why do they do this? The *jenmi* need not give a pie on the score of improvements if, after the customary twelve years, he takes it into his head to evict the *kudiyar* (tenant) from his—to him very valuable—*naucha* holdings. From his *kudiyiripu* (or dwelling-house and compound), the *jenmi*, of course, does not think of evicting him at all. Thus it will be seen that the Bill is not an unmixed blessing as regards South Malabar: indeed, in this one important particular, it fails in the two essentials of more protection to the yeoman from the cupidity of the landlord, and from the stress of rents forced up by stimulating unhealthy competition amongst tenants, and bolstered up by the oppressive *melcharth* system. Therefore, in order that the Bill may prove beneficial to the tenantry of South Malabar and conduce to their well-being generally, two things should be done: the peasant should be given greater security as regards his *naucha* holding, and he should be afforded adequate relief

when evicted from the rice-land from which he draws his support.

And how may this be effected? By a simple method. When the *jenmi* transfers, on *kanom* demise, wet lands to his *kudiyān*, provision is made in the document of lease—this form of tenure partakes of the nature of both a lease and a mortgage—that the former shall be paid so many *paras* of paddy as *pattom* (rent), less the interest on the mortgage advance and the Government assesment ; and the tenant annually pays (generally in kind) the stipulated *paras* of paddy to the *jenmi*. This arrangement is invariably arrived at after a careful reckoning of the *pattom* on the holding, having due regard, of course, to the yield of the land at the actual time of transfer. Thus, it is an easy thing to ascertain afterwards, the *pattom* amount of a particular holding at the time of lease. Now what constitutes wealth in Malabar (more so, in South Malabar), is the *naucha* or rice land : it is the tenant's subsistence, the landlord's capital, and the chief source of revenue to the State. And the Bill provides for giving compensation only for such improvements as are not only real, but also apparent and visible. Now, what I propose should be done is this: that, if anything in the shape or nature of an increase in the yield or productive value of the soil can be shown by a tenant to have taken place during his tenure of a *naucha* or rice field, the whole benefit of it should not lapse to the landlord, but that he should share it with the tenant, who should be accorded a reasonable portion of it. In other words, it should be made law—a clause should be inserted in the Bill to some such effect—that if, on the determination of a lease, or in the event of an eviction, it appears to a Civil Court that the *verum-pattom* paid to the *kudiyān* by his sub-tenant exceeds in amount the original *pattom* settled to be paid to the *jenmi* at the time of lease, this increase should be regarded as tantamount to an "improvement," and be presumed to be due to the *kudiyān's* exertions: and the latter should be awarded such a sum of money as shall yield interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum on the improvement value.

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR.

ART. XII.—KITTY KIRKPATRICK AND BLUMINE.

IT has been pointed out to us that none of the biographers of Carlyle have accepted the theory, originated by Mr. George Strachey, in an article on "Carlyle and his Rose Goddess," in the *Nineteenth Century*, and accepted by Mr. J. J. Cotton in his article on "Kitty Kirkpatrick" in the *Calcutta Review* for April last, that Kitty Kirkpatrick was the original, so far as there was an original, of the Blumine of the *Sartor Resartus*. With the view of placing both sides of the question before our readers, we reprint herewith, with the author's permission, the 14th Chapter of Mr. David Wilson's recent work on Mr. Froude and Carlyle, which deals with it at length, under the title of "Thomas Carlyle's Apprenticeship in Love." At the same time, we append a letter on the question, with reference to Mr. Cotton's article, published in a recent number of the *Madras Mail*, together with Mr. Cotton's reply thereto.

THOMAS CARLYLE'S APPRENTICESHIP IN LOVE.

Mrs. Carlyle was ready to speak to intimate friends about her own early experiences in love-making, but it was never safe for any one to allude to Margaret Gordon in *her* hearing.

Professor Masson was surprised to find that Carlyle himself, however, was not reluctant to speak of that fair lady. Without giving names, he told the old story to his friend, and in the "Reminiscences" he jotted it down.*

Carlyle was about twenty-one years of age when he first saw Miss Gordon, "fair-complexioned, softly elegant, softly grave. Witty and comely," living "cheery though with dim outlooks" with her aunt, a childless widow lady at Kirkcaldy, when Carlyle went there as school-master.

"She had a good deal of gracefulness, intelligence, and other talent. . . . Her *accent* was prettily English, and her voice very fine," as Carlyle still remembered after half a century.

Mr. Strachey and some others have published some reminiscences of Carlyle, explaining in particular his relations with the Strachey family. All who study Carlyle's life must be grateful for these. More such reminiscences may perhaps be yet hoped for. But, while thankfully accepting the facts stated concerning a man of world-wide importance, we have to scrutinise conclusions and conjectures based upon only some of the known facts and not in harmony with all. Accordingly, the Strachey family tradition that "Kitty Kirkpatrick" was the "Blumine" of "Sartor Resartus" seems questionable, or more than questionable. A few suggestions for external circumstances were all that were derived from that part of Carlyle's actual experience.

There was much esteem and friendship but never any serious love-making between young Carlyle and Miss Kirkpatrick. Letters and

* See the "Reminiscences," ii. 57, 58, 59; and also D. Masson's "Edinburgh Sketches and Memories," pp. 257, &c.

other documents prove this beyond all doubt. The suspicion of sweet Miss Kitty as a possible rival slightly alarmed Miss Welsh for a while; but *very* little would suffice for that. Carlyle seems to have been quite blameless and steadfast to his Jane, to whom indeed he was engaged to be married before he ever saw Miss Kitty. Mr. Froude's narrative probably contributed to mislead Mr. Strachey, and make him attach undue importance to trivial coincidences.

There is no room for doubt that the only episode in Carlyle's own life which much resembled Teufelsdröckh's experience was the romantic love between him and Margaret Gordon.

Teufelsdröckh is a fictitious character whose sentiments resembled Carlyle's a little, but only a little, more than Dr. Faust's resembled Goethe's. Indeed Teufelsdröckh seems more like Faust than Carlyle. He is a *wise* Faust—one who reads better than the famous doctor the sphinx-riddle of life.

Blumine, too, is expressly fictitious. We must remember that the first reader of "Sartor Resartus" was Mrs. Carlyle. That explains fully Blumine's "gifts," "graces," and "*caprices*," her "*light* yet so stately form," her "*dark* eyes," and "those *dark* tresses, shading a face where smiles and sunlight played over earnest deeps." Nay, many expressions in that charming chapter of "Sartor" seem reminiscences of the love-letters that passed between Carlyle and his "dearly beloved Jane."

Indeed, it is more likely that the conventional romantic imagination may find it agreeable to suppose that the passion experienced by the Teufelsdröckh of fiction resembles Carlyle's love for Miss Welsh as much as his love for Miss Gordon. It often happens, as Shakespeare knew, that an earnest man loving a second time may love more warmly than before.

If this view is correct, Teufelsdröckh's disappointment was partly a reminiscence of Carlyle's loss of Margaret Gordon, but partly also an anticipation of what his feelings would have been if he had lost Miss Welsh too. Teufelsdröckh's attitude to women after the catastrophe is not unlike what Carlyle told his saucy Jane would be his, if she did not wed him.

However this may be, it is certain that, when writing "Sartor Resartus" at Craigenputtock, Carlyle would have endangered his domestic peace if any other figure than his Jane's had been recognisable in Blumine. The resemblance goes deeper than the mere details, many of which are common to her and Miss Kirkpatrick.† For instance, Mrs. Carlyle loved roses and cultivated them at Craigenputtock. She was as much of a "Rose-Goddess," therefore, as Miss Kirkpatrick.† In character no less than in figure and complexion, &c., Blumine much resembled Miss Welsh as she *was*, and perhaps still more closely Miss Welsh as she and her husband and lover thought she was. Such are the extremities to which even a gifted writer may be driven, if his "dearly beloved" is of a jealous turn of mind. Mrs. Carlyle always was so—an indubitable fact, however difficult to reconcile with Mr. Froude's story.

There is no possible room for doubt, however, that before he ever saw Miss Welsh, Carlyle was in love with Miss Gordon and found his love returned; but "economic and other circumstances," meaning his inadequate income and indifferent social position, made her and her aunt terminate the acquaintance. The aunt, once a Miss Gordon herself, was "the Duenna Cousin," "in whose meagre, hunger-bitten philosophy, the religion of young hearts was, from the first, faintly approved of,"

† Many more details might be quoted, if a narrative could be written without regard to brevity. *E.g.* cp. "Reminiscences," i. p. 147, &c.

perhaps scarcely suspected. She was, Carlyle remembered long afterwards, "childless, with limited resources, but of frugal cultivated turn; a lean, proud, elderly dame"; but she "sang Scotch songs beautifully, and talked shrewd *Aberdeenish* in accent and otherwise,"—never too polite, it may be feared, to the somewhat awkward tall young man, whose conversation must have often entertained and sometimes surprised her. He took no offence at her airs toward the schoolmaster, and she perhaps fancied that *her intellect* attracted his homage, before she discovered where the attraction was.

So the months passed, "twelve or fifteen months." Then the aunt saw how matters were drifting and acted—with decision. The woman who hesitates is lost; and Miss Gordon's *aunt* did not hesitate. She left Kirkcaldy, taking her niece with her, and Miss Gordon wrote the loving adieu which Mr. Froude has printed.

That letter was probably an after-thought on her part, an attempt to excuse herself. The "Reminiscences" closely resemble "Sartor" in describing the actual adieu. In both cases, the cause of the parting was the same (economic circumstances), and the manner of it very similar. The only difference is that the story as told in "Sartor Resartus" was, naturally, more explicit.

"Speak to her," wrote Carlyle in the "Reminiscences," "since the 'Good bye then' at Kirkcaldy . . . I never did or could."

Compare with this the conclusion of Teufelsdröckh's romance.

"One morning, he found his Morning star all dimmed and dusky red; the fair creature was silent, absent, she seemed to have been weeping. Alas, no longer a Morning star, but a troublous skyeey Portent, announcing that the Doomsday had dawned! She said, in a tremulous voice, 'They were to meet no more.' The thunder-struck Air-sailor is not wanting to himself in this dread hour: but what avails it? We omit the passionate expostulations, entreaties, indignations, since all was vain, and not even an explanation was conceded him; and hasten to the catastrophe. "*Farewell, then, Madam!*" said he, not without sternness, for his stung pride helped him. She put her hand in his, she looked in his face, tears started to her eyes; in wild audacity he clasped her to his bosom; their lips were joined, their two souls, like two dew-drops, rushed into one,—for the first time, and for the last! Thus was Teufelsdröckh made immortal by a kiss. And then? Why, then—'thick curtains of Night rushed over his soul, as rose the immeasurable Crash of Doom; and through the ruins as of a shivered Universe was he falling, falling, towards the Abyss.'"

No wonder Carlyle also soon left Kirkcaldy; but, like the true noble man of Nature that he was, he made no attempt to persevere with his suit. All the ladies who ever knew him agreed that he was one of the most chivalrous men of modern times. It was not lack of passion that restrained him. On the contrary, it took him "perhaps some three years" to compose himself, and then he also could say "adieu" in his heart.

It was characteristic of him that, in love as in religion, he was in earnest, and never "sentimental." Professor Masson is clearly right (as against Mr. Froude) in saying that "his clear intellect had cut down like a knife between him and the theology from which he had parted, leaving no ragged ends." . . . He was not involved in the coil of those ordinary 'doubts' and 'backward hesitations' of which we hear so much . . . in feeble biographies."

Even so in love, too, he could recognise plain facts, however disagreeable, and when Thomas Carlyle first saw Miss Welsh's bright face, about three years after he left Kirkcaldy, his heart was *not* pre-occupied. Long before then he had seen Margaret Gordon for the *last* time, "so

far as he cared. He had, in deference to her wishes, made no attempt to write to her,† and was ceasing to think of her. After they parted, he never spoke to her again. As a French lady expressed it, he was "a dangerous man to *trifle* with,"—a man who, if he fell in love once more, would be terribly in earnest.

There is a curious coincidence well worth notice. It was about three years after he parted from his first love that he met Miss Welsh, and he remarked in his "Reminiscences" that Margaret Gordon hung in his fancy "for perhaps some three years . . . on the usual romantic, or latterly quite elegiac and silent terms." His poetical adieu to her seems to have been written soon after he met Miss Welsh; so it may have been that, like Romeo in Shakespeare's tragedy, though less precipitate, he found the best remedy for one passion in another. It is assuredly the most effectual—an unfailing remedy, and indeed the only "specific" worth mention in such cases.

Though he never spoke to Margaret Gordon again, he *saw* her twice more than twenty years afterwards. I quote from the "Reminiscences," inserting, duly marked, some words taken from another account he gave. She had become "the 'Dowager Lady——,' her Mr. Something having got knighted before dying." "Bannerman" was her name, Masson tells us.

"I saw her, recognisably to me, here in her London time (1840 or so), *twice*, once with her maid in Piccadilly, promenading, little altered; a second time that same year or next, on horseback both of us, and *meeting* in the gate of Hyde Park." . . . *'She was bending a little, tapping her boot in the stirrup with her riding whip, when she looked up and saw me,* and "her eyes (but that was all) said to me almost touchingly, 'Yes, yes, that is you!' Enough of that old matter . . . now quite extinct."

"Though he talked," says Professor Masson, "prettily and tenderly on the subject, the impression left was that the whole thing had become 'objective' to him, a mere dream of the past. But fifty years had then elapsed since those Kirkcaldy days when Margaret Gordon and he were first together."

"Fifty years" is a long time in the life of a man. Much changes and becomes extinct in fifty years; yet even in his old age he thought worthy of preservation the tender "Adieu" which he probably hummed to himself in lonely walks round Edinburgh,—an "Adieu" worth reading yet, full of earnest, passionate sincerity, coming straight from the heart of a man who had loved and lost.

"Let time and chance combine, combine,
Let time and chance combine;
The fairest love from heaven above,
That love of yours was mine,
My dear,
That love of yours was mine.

"The past is fled and gone, and gone,
The past is fled and gone;
If nought but pain to me remain,
I'll fare in memory on,
My dear,
I'll fare in memory on.

"The saddest tears must fall, must fall,
The saddest tears must fall;

† She refused to give her address in saying adieu; but Carlyle's friend Irving knew her in Glasgow, and could have supplied her address if Carlyle had asked for it.

In weal or woe, in this world below,
I love you ever and all,

My dear,
I love you ever and all.

' A long road full of pain, of pain,
A long road full of pain ;
One soul, one heart, sworn ne'er to part,—
We ne'er can meet again,
My dear,
We ne'er can meet again.

" Hard fate will not allow, allow,
Hard fate will not allow ;
We blessed were as the angels are,—
Adieu for ever now,
My dear,
Adieu for ever now."

KITTY KIRKPATRICK AND "BLUMINE."

SIR,—In the interesting article by Mr. J. J. Cotton extracted in the *Madras Mail* from the *Calcutta Review*, Mr. Cotton says that Miss Kitty Kirkpatrick was the original, so far as there was an original, of the "Blumine" in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. Froude, on the contrary, in his *Life of Carlyle* (Vol. I. p. 52) says : "Margaret Gordon was the original, so far as there was an original, of 'Blumine' in *Sartor Resartus*." Mr. Cotton takes his stand on an article by Mr. E. Strachey in the *Nineteenth Century* for September, 1892, which contains many interesting reminiscences of Carlyle and of his friends the Stracheys and of Miss Kitty Kirkpatrick. It also proves quite conclusively, I think, that recollections of these friends of their home and of the surroundings went to compose the picture in *Sartor*. But it fails—in my view at least—to prove the main thesis, namely, that Miss Kitty was "Blumine." At the time Carlyle made this young lady's acquaintance he was 29 years old and was attached to and in regular correspondence with Miss Jane Welsh, whom he afterwards married, though there was as yet no engagement between them. In later years, after *Sartor* had been written and published and Miss Kirkpatrick and her friends found reminiscences of themselves and their home in the book, the lady once challenged Carlyle that she had never made him "immortal by a kiss," whereupon they both laughed heartily, *Nineteenth Century* 1892, p. 475). But the "immortality" may have been conferred by some one else—and this some one else was Margaret Gordon. Carlyle himself tells us, in his *Reminiscences*, as plainly as one could expect, who "Blumine" was. I will quote from *Sartor* and from the *Reminiscences* and italicise the words that give the clue :—

'One morning he found his Morning Star all dimmed and dusky red ; the fair creature was silent, she seemed to have

been weeping. Alas! No longer a Morning Star, but a troublous skyey Portent, announcing that the Doomsday had dawned. She said in a tremulous voice 'they were to meet no more.' The thunderstruck Air-sailor is not wanting to himself in this dread hour; but what avails it? We omit the passionate expostulations, entreaties, indignations, since all was vain, and not even an explanation was conceded him; and hasten to the catastrophe. "*Farewell then*, madam: said he, not without sternness, for his stung pride helped him. She put her hand in his, she looked in his face, tears started to her eyes: in wild audacity he clasped her to his bosom; their lips were joined; their two souls like two dew-drops rushed into one,—for the first time and for the last! Thus was Teufelsdröckh made immortal by a kiss. And then? Why, then thick curtains of Night rushed over his soul as rose the immeasurable Crash of Doom; and through the ruins as of a shivered Universe was he falling, falling, towards the Abyss."

Now for the *Reminiscences* (Vol. I p. 139) and Margaret Gordon. At the time referred to Carlyle was 22 years old and a schoolmaster in Kircaldy. He says:

"By far the cleverest and brightest (of the young ladies), however . . . I did at last make some acquaintance with; . . . *and it might easily have been more* had she and her aunt and our economies and other circumstances liked. She was of the fair-complexioned, softly elegant, softly grave, witty and comely type, and had a good deal of gracefulness, intelligence and other talent. . . . To me who had only known her a few months and who within twelve or fifteen months saw the last of her, she continued for perhaps some three years a figure hanging more or less in my fancy on the usual romantic, or latterly quite elegiac and silent terms. . . . An aunt (widow in Fife, childless, with limited resources, but of frugal cultivated turn, a lean proud elderly dame . . .) had adopted her and brought her hither over seas. . . . A year or so after we heard the fair Margaret had married some rich insignificant Aberdeen Mr. Something, who afterwards got into Parliament, thence out to Nova Scotia (or so) as 'Governor', and I heard of her no more, except that lately she was still living about Aberdeen, childless, as the Dowager Lady, her Mr. Something having got knighted before dying. Poor Margaret! speak to her since the '*good bye, then*' at Kircaldy in 1819 I never did or could. I saw her recognisably to me here in her London time, twice (1840 or so), once with her maid in Piccadilly, promenading, little altered; a second time, that same year or next, on horseback both of us, and meeting in the gate of Hyde Park, when her eyes (but that was all) said to me almost touchingly, 'Yes, yes, that is you.'

That the "good bye, then" at Kircaldy refers to the "fare-

well then " of *Sartor* there can, I think, be no doubt, and the "stung pride" prevented him from ever speaking to her again.

It is a curious thing that Mr. E. Strachey makes no reference to these passages in his article in the *Nineteenth Century*. I cannot avoid the conjecture that he did not verify Froude's quotation from the *Reminiscences* which is given in the *Life of Carlyle*. Froude, as every one knows, used to garble his quotations. In the present case he has omitted from his quotation the very sentence (in which are the italicised words) which proves the correctness of his assertion that Margaret Gordon was the original of "Blumine."

If it is not making a long letter too long I should like to quote from Margaret Gordon's farewell letter to Carlyle. It is perhaps the most singular piece of insight and prophesy ever penned by a girl of eighteen :—

"And now, my dear friend, a long long adieu ; one advice and as a parting one consider, value it. Cultivate the milder dispositions of your heart. Subdue the more extravagant visions of the brain. In time your abilities must be known. Among your acquaintance they are already beheld with wonder and delight. By those whose opinion will be valuable they hereafter will be appreciated. Genius will render you great. May virtue render you beloved. Remove the awful distance between you and ordinary men by kind and gentle manners. Deal gently with their inferiority, and be convinced they will respect you as much and like you more. Why conceal the real goodness that flows in your heart ? I have ventured this counsel from an anxiety for your future welfare, and I would enforce it with all the earnestness of the most sincere friendship. Let your light shine before men, and think them not unworthy the trouble. This exercise will prove its own reward. It must be a pleasing thing to live in the affections of others. Again adieu. Pardon the freedom I have used and when you think of me, be it as a kind sister, to whom your happiness will always yield delight and your griefs sorrow.

Yours with esteem and regard,

A.

KITTY KIRKPATRICK AND "BLUMINE."

SIR,—I am obliged to your correspondent "A" or his letter on the subject of Carlyle's "Blumine." It amounts to the statement that the italicised words, "good-bye, then," in a passage of the *Reminiscences*, when compared with the words, "farewell then, madam," in the "immortal kiss" chapter of *Sartor Resartus*, prove the correctness of Froude's assertion that Margaret Gordon was the original of "Blumine." The point

is said to be emphasised by "Mr." E. Strachey's omission to refer to this passage in his article in the *Nineteenth Century* for September, 1892.

I am afraid that your correspondent has penned his letter (most of which is recopied from Froude's *Carlyle*, Volume I, pages 51 to 53, and all of which was well known to me before) without fully perusing Mr. Strachey's *locus classicus* in the *Nineteenth Century*. Otherwise he would hardly have misquoted the name of the writer. Sir Edward Strachey, I may say, is the author of the article in *Blackwood's Magazine* which describes the romantic marriage of Hushmat Jung; and it is his brother George who is responsible for the article entitled "Carlyle and his Rose Goddess" which appeared in Mr. Knowles's Magazine. This George is the son of Mr. Edward Strachey, Mountstuart Elphinstone's friend and correspondent, and his article should be thoughtfully read in its entirety. To quote its prefatory words: "The statements here made have been carefully tested by all available means, witnesses have been carefully questioned and cross-questioned with Socratic rigour, and other precautions taken to preserve the date of actual contemporaneous knowledge from subsequent embellishment and mutilation."

Further on he remarks:

"Mr. Froude guesses that the Rose-goddess is Margaret Gordon, a young person who squelched Carlyle's love for her in his schoolmaster days in a letter which is extant, and throws more light on his external individuality than on her own. An earlier commentator thought otherwise. 'The story of the book,' said Mrs. Edward Strachey to her son, 'is as plain as a pikestaff. Teufelsdröckh is Thomas himself. The Zähdarms are your uncle and aunt Buller. Toughgut is young Charles Buller. Philistine is Irving. The duenna cousin is myself. The rose garden is our garden with roses at Shooter's Hill, and Rose-goddess is Kitty.'"

"The identities which were then plain to an expert with my mother's peculiar personal and topographical knowledge may be traced now by anyone who compares *Sartor Resartus* with the *Reminiscences*. The Waldschloss of Graf Zähdarm, Excellenz, is a palpable, though glorified, replica of Skooter's Hill.

"'Examiner' Strachey's house stood in 'an umbrageous little park with rose gardens,' and on Carlyle's first vision of 'dear Kitty' she was busied amongst the roses and almost buried under them." According to *Sartor Resartus*, the noble mansion of the Zähdarms stood in "umbrageous lawns" in proximity to a garden house hardly inferior to itself, which was "embowered amid rich foliage, rose clusters, and the hues and

odours of a thousand flowers." The characteristic flower is as plentiful as it was on the nascent Island of Rhodes. When "Blumine" appears on the scene we read: "Now that Rose-goddess sits in the same circle with him." But this only brings us within the propylæa of our edifice of truth. As Teufelsdröckh's ecstatic condition develops, the Rose-goddess grows into a dawn myth. We read in *Sartor* of the "many-tinted radiant Aurora"—of "this fairest of orient light bringers," of "Blumine" as being in very deed "a Morning-Star," which appellation is given her more than once. "The sentence of this Latin is," to quote the "Examiner's" favourite Chaucer, that Miss Kirkpatrick's Christian names were Catherine Aurora!

That "Blumine" personified Miss Kirkpatrick has always passed in the family for a certainty, requiring no more discussion than the belief that Nelson stands on the column in Trafalgar Square. To myself, my cousin said that the love chapters of *Sartor Resartus* were *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, a mixture of poetry and prose fact, and she once observed that she had taken Carlyle to task on the subject of the final gush, remarking, "you know you were never 'made immortal' in that manner," whereupon they both laughed.

Mrs. Phillipps, who survived till 1890, further said that the words in *Sartor Resartus*, where Teufelsdröckh is "ushered into the garden house, where sat the choicest party of dames and cavaliers," exactly described the circumstances of Carlyle's visit to Shooter's Hill with Irving, when he saw "dear Kitty busied among the roses." As regards the identification of Graf Zâhdarm, it should be observed that in the lady's copy of *Sartor* there stand, in her handwriting, the words "Charles Buller, senior."

Of course it is an added attraction to India to think that Carlyle's leading lady should have been the daughter of a Begum, and it is precisely with this object that I wrote my little article for the *Calcutta Review*. But it may well be that Carlyle was performing a process well-known among photographers as "combination printing," and had worked up, in his best vein, pictures of both Kitty Kirkpatrick and Margaret Gordon for the love story in *Sartor Resartus*.

19th April.

J. J. COTTON.

ART. XIII—THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA.

THE remarkable success which has followed the attempt made during the last year to increase the sale of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA by reducing the price seems to suggest a review of the history and the nature of the book. More than 15,000 copies of a special reprint of the Ninth Edition—the publication of which, begun in 1875, was completed in 1889—have been sold in less than a year, at half the publishers' catalogue price. As the work consists of 25 volumes, the total number of volumes thus sold is 375,000. The weight of one set is said to be 175 lbs. ; the total weight of the 15,000 sets sold is therefore almost 1,172 tons. The shelf-space occupied by the cloth-bound set in use by the present writer is 5ft. 7½in. : the total shelf-space required for 15,000 such sets is, therefore, nearly 16 miles ; or, if calculated at the thickness per volume stated by the publishers (for half or full binding, presumably)—2½ inches, and 1½ inches for the index volume—the total shelf-space required, or the height the 15,000 sets would reach to if piled up is nearly 14½ miles, or much more than twice the height above sea level of any mountain on this planet. If laid out horizontally, and close together, the 375,000 volumes would cover 1 rood and 85 square yards of ground.

The publication of the first edition of this book was completed in 1771—128 years ago : it consisted of 3 volumes 4to, containing 2,670 pages, and 160 copper plates. The 9th, the current, edition consists of 24 volumes 4to of text, of about 850 pages each, besides an Index volume of 499 pages—a total of about 21,000 pages.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* was from the first compiled on a new plan, in which, as the title page stated, "the different SCIENCES and ARTS are digested into distinct Treatises or Systems ; and the various Technical Terms, &c., are explained as they occur in the order of the Alphabet." The compilers were "*a SOCIETY of GENTLEMEN in SCOTLAND.*" The alternative title of the book was—"A DICTIONARY of ARTS and SCIENCES." That of the Ninth Edition is—"A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and General Literature." The plan of the work was enlarged with the second edition by the addition of history and biography, which encyclopædias in general had long omitted. "From the time of the second edition of this work," said the *Quarterly Review* (cxiii, 362), "every cyclopædia of note, in England and elsewhere, has been a cyclopædia, not solely of Arts and Sciences, but of the whole wide circle of

general learning and miscellaneous information." The Editor of the first edition, WILLIAM SMELLIE, a printer, afterwards Secretary and Superintendent of Natural History to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, who is said by his biographer—as we learn from the *Encyclopædia* itself—to have revised the plan of the work and written or compiled all the chief articles, but to whom other writers do not agree to give such credit, was asked by Mr. Andrew Bell, the chief engraver in Edinburgh—who with Mr. Colin MacFarquhar, printer, was the publisher of the book—to edit the second edition, and to take a share of one-third in the work; but he refused because the other persons concerned in it, at the suggestion of "a very distinguished nobleman of very high rank" (said to have been the Duke of Buccleuch) insisted upon the introduction of a system of general biography which he, Mr. Smellie, considered inconsistent with the character of a dictionary of Arts and Sciences. Judging from the prosperous career of the *Encyclopædia* for more than 120 years since it was made, the suggestion of the Duke of Buccleuch—if it was his—was a wise and far-seeing one. The Editors of the ninth edition, which has run from 1875 to 1898, with a life which is now more vigorous than ever, attribute the prominent place which the *Encyclopædia* has long held amongst the other English Encyclopædias to the plan and method of treatment adopted from the first, and extended in the second edition. The plan was more comprehensive, and the treatment a happier blending of popular any scientific exposition than had previously been attempted in and undertaking of the kind.

"The distinctive feature of the work was that it gave a connected view of the more important subjects under a single heading, instead of breaking them up into a number of shorter articles. This method of arrangement had a two-fold advantage. The space afforded for extended exposition helped to secure the services of the more independent and productive minds who were engaged in advancing their own departments of scientific inquiry. As a natural result, the work, while surveying in outline the existing field of knowledge, was able at the same time to enlarge its boundaries by embodying, in special articles, the fruits of original observation and research. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* thus became, to some extent at least, an instrument as well as a register of scientific progress."

This characteristic feature of the work would be retained and made even more prominent—the new editors said—in the New Edition, but in some other respects the plan required modification, to meet the multiplied requirements of advancing knowledge. The rapid progress of science during the past quarter of a century had necessitated many changes and a considerable increase in the number of headings to be devoted to its exposition.

"Since the publication of the last edition, science, in each of its main divisions, may be said to have changed as much in substance as in form. The

new conceptions introduced into the Biological Sciences have revolutionised their points of view, methods of procedure, and systems of classification. . . . Sections of the subject have acquired new prominence and value, and are cultivated with the keenest interest. . . . The results of persistent labour in these comparatively new fields of inquiry will largely determine the classification of the future. Meanwhile the whole system of grouping, and many points of general doctrine, are in a transition state; and what is said and done in these directions must be regarded, to a certain extent at least, as tentative and provisional. In these circumstances, the really important thing is, that whatever may be said on such unsettled questions should be said with the authority of the fullest knowledge and insight, and every effort has been made to secure this advantage for the New Edition of the *Encyclopædia*."

The recent history of Physics was said to be marked by changes both of conception and classification almost equally great with those which had been introduced in the Biological Sciences.

"In advancing from the older dynamic to the new potential and kinetic conceptions of power, this branch of science may be said to have entered on a fresh stage, in which, instead of regarding natural phenomena as the result of forces acting between one body and another, the energy of a material system is looked upon as determined by its configuration and motion, and the ideas of configuration, motion, and force are generalised to the utmost extent warranted by their definition. This altered point of view, combined with the far-reaching doctrines of the correlation of forces and the conservation of energy, has produced extensive changes in the nomenclature and classification of the various sections of physics; while the fuller investigations into the ultimate constitution of matter, and into the phenomena and laws of light, heat, and electricity have created virtually new sections, which must now find a place in any adequate survey of scientific progress."

The application of the newer principles to the mechanical arts and industries had rapidly advanced and would require illustration in many fresh directions. Improved machines and processes, in almost every department of physics, had to be described, as well as fresh discoveries and altered points of view. The instruments of finer measurement and analysis had directly contributed to the discovery of physical properties and laws. The spectroscope was mentioned as a signal instance of the extent to which in our day scientific discovery was indebted to appropriate instruments of observation and analysis.

"These extensive changes in Physics and Biology involve," the Editor of the Ninth Edition said, "corresponding changes in the method of their exposition. Much in what was written about each a generation ago is now of comparatively little value. Not only therefore does the system of grouping in these sciences require alteration and enlargement; the articles themselves must, in the majority of instances, be written afresh rather than simply revised. The scientific department of the work will thus be to a great extent new. In attempting to distribute headings for the new edition, so as fairly to cover the ground occupied by modern science, I have been largely indebted to Professor Huxley and Professor Clerk-Maxwell, whose valuable help in the matter I am glad to have an opportunity of acknowledging."

Passing from Natural and Physical Science to Literature, History, and Philosophy, the Editor of the Ninth Edition noted that many sections of knowledge connected with these departments displayed fresh tendencies, and were working towards new results, which, if faithfully reflected, would require a new style of treatment.

"Speaking generally, it may be said that human nature and human life are the great objects of inquiry in these departments. Man, in his individual powers, complex relationships, associated abilities, and collective progress, is dealt with alike in Literature, History, and Philosophy. In this wider aspect, the rudest and most fragmentary records of savage and barbarous races, the earliest stories and traditions of every lettered people, no less than their developed literatures, mythologies, and religions, are found to have a meaning and value of their own. As yet the rich materials thus supplied for throwing light on the central problems of human life and history have only been very partially turned to account. It may be said, indeed, that their real significance is perceived and appreciated almost for the first time in our day. But under the influence of the modern spirit they are now being dealt with in a strictly scientific manner. . . . Already the critical use of the comparative method has produced very striking results in this new and stimulating field of research. Illustrations of this are seen in the rise and rapid development of the comparatively modern Science of Anthropology, and the successful cultivation of the assistant sciences, such as Archæology, Ethnography, and Philology. In the new edition of the *Encyclopædia* full justice will, it is hoped, be done to the progress made in these various directions."

The Editor of the Ninth Edition thought it necessary in his Preface to explain the position taken by the *Encyclopædia* in relation to the active controversies of the time—Scientific Religions, and Philosophical—because the prolific activity of modern science had naturally stimulated speculation, and given birth to a number of somewhat crude conjectures and hypotheses. The air was full of novel and extreme opinions, and the higher problems of philosophy and religion were being investigated afresh from opposite sides, though in a thoroughly earnest spirit. This fresh outbreak of the inevitable contest between the old and the new was a fruitful source of exaggerated hopes and fears, and of excited denunciation and appeal. "In this conflict," he said, "a work like the *Encyclopædia* is not called upon to take any direct part. It has to do with knowledge rather than opinion, and to deal with all subjects from a critical and historical, rather than from a dogmatic, point of view. It cannot be the organ of any sect or party in Science, Religion, or Philosophy. Its main duty is to give an accurate account of the facts, and an impartial summary of results in every department of inquiry and research. This duty will, I hope, be faithfully performed." But while observing this neutrality of treatment, important contributions to the knowledge of opinions must of necessity have been made.

To go back, in the history of the book—enlarged as it was by the inclusion of history and general biography—to the Second Edition, we find that it was published in numbers, issued from June 1777 to September 1784. There were between 8 and 9,000 pages, and at the end an appendix of 200 pages. The number and length of the articles were much increased. There were 340 plates, of which those containing the maps were all placed together under the article Geography (195 pages). The editor was Mr. James Tytler, M. A., and he is said to have written many of the scientific treatises and histories,

and almost all the minor articles. The Third Edition was published in weekly numbers, of which there were intended to be 300, price 10s. each, forming 30 parts at 10s. 6d., and 15 volumes with 360 plates. The first volume was completed in October 1788, and the edition in 1797: but it reached to 18 volumes 4to, containing 14,579 pages and 542 plates,—a marvellous extension of bulk in thirteen years. The maps were, as in subsequent editions, distributed among the articles relating to the respective countries. It was edited by Colin Macfarquhar as far as the article “Mysteries,” when he died, in 1893, in his forty-eighth year, “worn out by fatigue and anxiety of mind.” He was one of the founders and publishers and also the sole printer of the work. George Gleig of Stirling, afterwards Bishop of Brechin, and, later, primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, who as a student distinguished himself in mathematics and the moral and physical sciences, and after he took orders became a frequent contributor to the periodical literature of the time, was requested to edit the rest of the third edition, for which he had already written about twelve articles; “and for the time, and the limited sum allowed him for the reward of contributors, his part in the work was considered very well done. A life of Bishop Gleig, by the Rev. W. Walker, was published in 1879. Gleig induced Professor Robinson to become a contributor; and Robinson, revised the article ‘Optics,’ and then wrote a series of articles on Natural Philosophy, “which attracted great attention, and were long highly esteemed by scientific men.” 10,000 copies of this third edition are said to have been printed, at a “profit to the proprietors of £42,000, besides the payments for their respective work in the conduct of the publication as tradesmen,—Bell as engraver of all the plates, and Macfarquhar as sole printer.” According to Constable (*Memoirs* ii, 312) the impression was begun at 5,000 copies, and concluded with a sale of 13,000. When the edition was completed, the copyright and remaining books were sold in order to wind up the concern, and “the whole was purchased by Bell, who gave £13 a copy, sold all the remaining copies to the trade, printed up the odd volumes, and thus kept the work in the market for several years.”

The supplement of the third edition, says the *Encyclopædia* itself, in the ninth edition,—printed for Thomson Bonar, a wine merchant, who had married Bell’s daughter—also was edited by Gleig. It was published in 1801 in 2 vols., 4to, containing 1,624 pages and 50 copper-plates.

“In the dedication to the king, dated Stirling, 10th December 1800, Dr. Gleig says: “The French *Encyclopædia* had been accused, and justly accused, of having disseminated far and wide the seeds of anarchy and atheism. If the *Encyclopædia Britannica* shall in any degree counteract the tendency of that pestiferous work, even these two volumes will not be wholly unworthy of your

Majesty's attention. Professor Robinson added 19 articles to the series he had begun when the third edition was so far advanced. Professor Playfair assisted in 'Mathematics.' Dr. Thomas Thomson wrote 'Chemistry,' 'Mineralogy,' and other articles, in which the use of symbols was for the first time introduced into Chemistry, and these articles formed the first outline of his *System of Chemistry*, published at Edinburgh in 1802, 8vo., 4vols.; the sixth edition, 1821."

The Fourth Edition, printed for Andrew Bell, was begun in 1800 or 1801, and finished in 1810, in 20 volumes, 4to, containing 16,033 pages, with 581 plates engraved by Bell. No articles were reprinted from the Supplement, as Bell had not the copyright. 2 vols., containing 1,454 pages, were, it seems, added to the third edition, exclusive of the Supplement. "Professor Wallace's articles on Mathematics were much valued, and raised the scientific character of the work." Dr. James Millar, afterwards editor of the *Encyclopædia Edinensis*, was the Editor. Andrew Bell died in 1809, aged eighty-three, "leaving," says Constable, two sets of Trustees, one literary, to make the money, the other legal to lay it out after it was made." The edition concluded at 4,000 copies. (Early in 1804 Andrew Bell had offered Constable and his partner Hunter the copyright of the work, printing materials, &c., and all that was then printed of the fourth edition, for £20,000.) They intrusted Jeffrey with a design for publishing an entirely new Encyclopædia upon an improved plan, under which the authors were to be paid at least as well as reviewers, and were to retain the copyright of their articles. Cockburn, *Life of Lord Jeffrey*, 1852, ii. 90, says that most of Jeffrey's friends were eager to join in helping the enterprise. Stewart was to write the preliminary discourse, besides other articles. Playfair was to superintend the mathematical department, and Robinson the natural philosophy. "Thomas Thomson is extremely zealous in the cause. W. Scott has embraced it with affection." Then, perhaps, Constable gave £100 to Bonar for the copyright of the supplement to the third edition, which had contained articles by Robinson, Playfair, and Thomson.

The Fifth Edition was begun immediately after the Fourth was completed, as a mere reprint.

"The management of the edition, or rather mismanagement, went on under the *lawyer trustees* for several years, and at last the whole property was again brought to the market by public sale. There were about 1,800 copies printed of the first five volumes, which formed one lot, the copyright formed another lot, and so on. The whole was purchased by myself and in my name for between £13,000 and £14,000, and it was said by the wise booksellers of Edinburgh and others that I had completely ruined myself and all connected with me by a purchase to such an enormous amount; this was early in 1812." (Constable ii. 314).

Bonar, who lived next door to the printing office, got one-third of the property, and superintended the printing; but he

died in 1814. Dr. Millar corrected and revised the last 15 volumes. The preface is dated 1st December 1814. The book was finally published in 20 volumes, 16,017 pages, 582 plates, price £36, and was dated 1817.

Soon after the purchase of the copyright, says the *Encyclopædia*, in giving its own history, Constable began to prepare for the publication of a supplement, to be of four, or, at the very utmost, five volumes. Dugald Stewart recommended that four discourses should "stand in front," forming "a general map of the various departments of human knowledge," similar to the "excellent discourse prefixed by D'Alembert to the French *Encyclopædia*, together with historical sketches of the progress since Bacon's time of modern discoveries in metaphysical, moral, and political philosophy, in mathematics and physics, in chemistry, and in zoology, botany, and mineralogy; but he declined to write anything himself until later on, should his health and other engagements permit. He recommended Playfair and Sir Humphrey Davy to be engaged to write two of the discourses. Constable at first intended to have two editors, "one for the strictly literary and the other for the scientific department." He applied to Dr. Thomas Brown, but he "preferred writing trash of poetry to useful and lucrative employment." At last Constable fixed on Mr. Macvey Napier, whom he had long known as a hard student; and fitted for the task.

"Napier went to London, and obtained the co-operation of many literary men. The supplement was published in half-volume parts from December 1816 to April 1824. It formed six volumes 4to, containing 4,933 pages, 15 plates, 9 maps, three dissertations, and 669 articles, of which a list is given at the end. The first dissertation, in the progress of metaphysical, ethical, and political philosophy, was by Stewart, who completed his plan only in respect to metaphysics. . . . Sir James Mackintosh characterised this discourse as 'the most splendid of Mr. Stewart's works, a composition which no other living writer of English prose has equalled. . . . The second dissertation, 'On the progress of mathematics and physics,' was by Playfair, who died 19th July 1819, when he had only finished the period of Newton and Leibnitz. The third, by Professor Brande, 'On the progress of Chemistry from the early middle ages to 1800,' was the only one completed. These historical dissertations were admirable and delightful compositions, but it is difficult to see why they should form a separate department, distinct from the alphabetical arrangement."

The Sixth Edition, revised, corrected, and improved, appeared in half-volume parts, price 16s. in boards, vol. xx, part ii, completing the work in May 1823. The Supplement edited by Macvey Napier, appears not to have been incorporated in this edition. "Constable, thinking it not wise to reprint so large a book year after year without correction, in 1820 selected Mr. Charles Maclaren (born 7th October 1872) as Editor. His attention was chiefly directed to the historical and geographical articles. He was to keep the press going, and have the whole completed in three years." . . .

"Many of the large articles, as Agriculture, Chemistry, Conchology, were new or nearly so; and references were given to the supplement. A new edition in 25 vols. was contemplated, not to be announced till a certain time after the supplement was finished; but Constable's house stopped payment 19th January 1826, and his copyrights were sold by auction." Those of the *Encyclopædia* were bought in 1828 for £6,150, by a Syndicate which included Adam Black, and which had previously begun the seventh edition. Not many years later Mr. Black purchased all the shares and became sole proprietor.

The preface to the Sixth (?) Edition was dated March 1824, and contained an account of the most important previous encyclopædias, related the history of the "*Britannica*," and mentioned "under each great division of knowledge, the principal articles (in the sixth edition) and their authors names, often with remarks on the characters of both."

"Among the distinguished contributors were Leslie, Playfair, Ivory, Sir John Barrow, Tredgold, Jeffrey, John Bird Sumner, Blanco White, Hamilton Smith, and Hazlitt. Sir Walter Scott, to gratify his generous friend Constable, laid aside '*Waverley*,' which he was completing for publication, and in April and May 1814 wrote '*Chivalry*' (an article not reprinted in the 9th edition). He also wrote '*Drama*' in November 1818, and '*Romance*' in the summer of 1823. As it seemed that encyclopædias had previously attended little to political philosophy, the editor wrote '*Balance of Power*,' and procured from James Mill '*Banks for Savings*,' '*Education*,' '*Law of Nations*,' '*Liberty of the Press*,' and other articles which, reprinted cheaply, had a wide circulation. McCulloch wrote '*Corn Laws*,' '*Interest*,' '*Money*,' '*Political Economy*,' &c. Mr. Ricardo wrote '*Commerce*' and '*Funding System*,' and Professor Malthus, in his article '*Population*,' gave a comprehensive summary of the facts and reasonings on which his theory rested. In the article '*Egypt*' Dr. Thomas Young first gave to the public an extended view of the results of his successful interpretation of the hieroglyphic characters as the stone of '*Rosetta*'. . . . There were about 160 biographies, chiefly of persons who had died within the preceding 30 years. . . . Arago wrote '*Double Refraction*,' and '*Polarization of Light*.' Playfair wrote '*Æpinus*' and '*Physical Astronomy*.' Biot wrote '*Electricity*' and '*Pendulum*,' but his articles had to be translated.

The Seventh Edition, also edited by Macvey Napier, assisted by James Browne, LL.D., was begun in 1827, and published from March 1830 to January 1842. It was reset throughout and stereotyped, and it ran to 21 volumes 4to, (with an Index of 187 pages), and contained 17,101 pages, and 506 plates. Mathematical diagrams were printed in the text from woodcuts.

"The dissertations—1st, *Stewarts* 289 pages; 2nd, '*Ethics*' (136 pages) by Sir James Mackintosh, whose death prevented the addition of '*Political Philosophy*;' 3rd, Playfair's 139 pages; 4th, its continuation by Sir John Leslie, 100 pages—and their index of 30 pages, fill vol. i. As they did not include Greek Philosophy, '*Aristotle*,' '*Plato*' and '*Socrates*' were supplied by Dr. Hampden, afterwards Bishop of Hereford. Among the numerous contributors of eminence, mention may be made of Sir David Brewster, Prof. Phillips, Prof. Spalding, John Hill Burton, Thomas de Quincey, Patrick Fraser Tytler, Capt. Basil Hall, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Antonio Panizzi, John Scott Russell, and Robert Stephenson. Zoology was divided into 17 chief articles . . . all by James Wilson. The biographical articles, in this

as in all the editions of the *Encyclopædia*, do not embrace the names of persons living at the time of publication."

An interval of about eleven years occurred before the publication of the Eighth Edition began, under the editorship of Dr. Thomas Stewart Traill, professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Edinburgh. This edition also consisted of 21 volumes (with an index of 239 pages, and it contained 17,957 pages, only 402 plates,—about 100 fewer than in the seventh edition—but many woodcuts.

"The dissertations were reprinted, with one on the 'Rise, Progress, and Corruptions of Christianity' (97 pages) by Archbishop Whately, and a continuation of Leslie's to 1850, by Professor James David Forbes, 198 pages, the work of nearly three years, called by himself his '*Magnum opus*' (Life pp. 361, 366). Lord Macaulay, Charles Kingsley, Isaac Taylor, Hepworth Dixon, Robert Chambers, Rev. Charles Merivale, Rev. F. W. Farrar, Sir John Richardson, Dr. Scoresby, Dr. Hooker, Henry Austin Layard, Edw. B. Eastwick, John Crawford, Augustus Peterman, Baron Bunsen, Sir John Herschell, Dr. Lancaster, Professors Owen, Rankine, William Thomson, Aytoun, Blackie, Daniel Wilson, and Jukes, were some of the many eminent *new* contributors among the 344 authors, of whom an alphabetical list is given with a key to the signatures. In the preface a list of 279 articles by 189 writers classed under 15 heads, is given, instead of the enumeration of the chief articles and their writers, and with critical remarks and explanations, inserted in previous prefaces. It " (the list ?) "is very much clearer and more useful, though its tabular form excluded all particulars except in notes. This edition was not wholly reset like the seventh, but many long articles were retained almost or entirely intact.

"The publication of the Ninth Edition (the present work) was commenced in January 1875."

The plan of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, as adopted in its first edition and modified from time to time, with the shape it finally in the 9th edition, have, with the help of the latest preface, been sufficiently explained above. The leading features of the work as it now stands may now be mentioned.

About fourteen heads seem to cover the most important and valuable articles to be found in the 9th edition: these are (1) HISTORY; (2) SCIENCE—Natural and Physical; (3) LITERATURE; (4) MEDICINE; (5) PHILOSOPHY—mental and moral; (6) ECONOMICS; (7) THEOLOGY; (8) LAW; (9) GEOGRAPHY; (10) The Fine Arts; (11) MUSIC and the DRAMA; (12) BIOGRAPHY; (13) MECHANICAL ARTS, and (14) INDUSTRIES. Under each of these heads some of the more famous contributors, and a few of the important articles they have written, may be mentioned.

In HISTORY—The Right Honorable James Bryce, M. P., the author of *The American Commonwealth*, and the History of the *Holy Roman Empire*, which is the Standard work upon that subject, wrote 'Emperor' and 'Empire,' 'Justinian,' and 'Theodora,' the woman who, though of low birth and first known as an actress, rose to be Justinian's wife, and with him ruler of the world. Other writers on historical subjects were Mr. John Morley, Mr. C. Allan Fyffe, Professor Freeman,

who wrote 'The Normans,' and, in conjunction with Professor Gardiner, 'History of England'; Prof. R. Rawson Gardiner, Professor J. R. Seeley—'Napoleon I.' Dr. Richard Garnett, who has but lately retired from the post of keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum, contributed articles on Augustan and Byzantine History, the Legend of Faustus; Milman and Niebuhr, and other Roman historians; on Alexander VI., and the History of the Popes, and many others, all which are characterised as crisp, first-hand studies of the subjects with which they deal. John Addington Symonds, "the man who came near to making the period of the Renaissance wholly his own," pictures that period; while Professor Villari tells the story of modern Italy, and also of the house of Medici. Professor Jebb, the Regius Professor of Greek and Member of Parliament for Cambridge University, of whom it is said there are "few living men so deeply versed in the lore of the ancients," wrote for the *Encyclopædia* a notable series of studies of the history and Literature of Greece, the famous orators of Athens, and the poets of that olden time. Professor Donaldson also wrote on the history of Greece.

Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, of the British Museum, dealt with Egypt, Professor Gosse with Denmark, Professor Muirhead with Prussia, and Professor Sayce with Babylonia; Sir George Cox wrote of the Crusades, Professor Lindsay of the Lollards, and Dean Church of the Lombards.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* claims to be a LIBRARY OF SCIENCE in itself, in which the man who takes an interest in scientific affairs, apart from his own field, will find a clear and accurate introduction to the various fields of scientific work which he has not time to study in the works in which these are treated of at full length.

"For such as these the *Encyclopædia Britannica* constitutes an almost invaluable possession. Indeed, the criticisms which was urged against it at the time of its completion that it gave over so much of its space to scientific subjects—is one that specially commends it to people interested in this fascinating field of research. There is probably no one who would bring up this criticism at the present day; popular interest in science has been stimulated in so many ways, and by so many new discoveries, that it is now clear how far-sighted was the judgment of the editors of the *Encyclopædia* in presenting Natural Science so thoroughly in its pages.

"How valuable the various scientific treatises of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* are felt to be by scientific men themselves is sufficiently indicated by the almost endless quotations which are made from these articles. One meets them everywhere."

The average *Encyclopædia* is the work of hack writers and one does not look for fresh, vigorous, first-hand treatments in such works.

"But the most notable characteristic of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is that it is not the work of hacks, but of masters—masters in every field of scientific thought, and not masters of mere detail only, but of form and exposition as well.

"It would be somewhat invidious to single out separate articles; but note a few. No writer, living or dead, could be more distinctly qualified to treat of the subject of Evolution, in the organic world, than the late Professor Huxley, and it is he who writes the article upon this subject for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Lord Kelvin stands confessedly first among living physicists, and it is he who writes the articles upon Heat and Electricity. The subject of Physiology is treated by Professor Michael Foster, the President elect of the British Association, whose larger work on Physiology (in five volumes) is the standard among English speaking people."

Professor Foster has been at the head of the department of Physiology at Cambridge since 1883; and for the *Encyclopædia Britannica* he wrote a treatise on his special topic, which is said to be "simply astonishing in the amount of information it condenses into a brief hundred pages."

"The late Professor Clerk-Maxwell contributed a series of articles—'Atom,' 'Attraction,' 'Capillarity,' 'Diffusion,' 'Ether,' &c., which were intended"—so says his school and college fellow, Professor P. G. Tait, in a biographical notice he wrote for the *Encyclopædia*—"as parts merely of one comprehensive system, in which a general *resumé* of all that is known of the properties of matter should be given in simple yet profound completeness. The reader of these articles cannot but feel how much has been lost when this splendid series cannot be completed by its initiator."

With similar authority Professor Georgett Darwin wrote of 'Tides,'—dealing, as a mathematician, with the marvellous phenomena of bodily tidal friction, "of which phenomena he may be said to have been practically the discoverer, since no one saw before him the tremendous rôle which these phenomena have played in the formation of the solar system." Sir Archibald Geikie, the Director of the Geological Survey of the British Isles, was the author of 'Geology,' a treatise which extends over 165 pages of the *Encyclopædia*—equal to a 500 page book of ordinary size. Archibald is a charming writer, and his books, 'The Scenery of Scotland,' and the 'Volcanoes of Ancient Britain' (the titles are quoted from memory), ought both, of the first named at least, to be included in the list of the "100 best books," which people are so fond of compiling. Lord Rayleigh treats of Optics; Professor Romanes wrote 'Instinct'; Professor Lankester took charge of Zoology; and Sir William Crookes—"the inventor of the well-known Crookes-tube, through which came the discovery of the Röntgen Rays"—for many years President of the Chemical Society of England, and last year President of the British Association—wrote 'Assaying.' Sir Norman Lockyer—"now recognized as perhaps the foremost of English Astronomers," took charge of the Sun. Sir Norman's earliest notable work was as editor of the *Army Regulations*: he began work in the War Office, and did not take up a scientific career until well

on in life. Professor Shuster treated of Spectroscopy, Professor Geddes of Morphology, and Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace—whose latest (?) book, 'The Wonderful Century,' contains a very interesting *resumé* of the progress of Science—besides a denunciation of Vaccination from a statistical point of view, which is very curious and coming from such a man worthy of careful consideration—wrote of the Distribution of Plants and Animals, and Acclimatisation.

Dr. P. G. Tait, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, and Secretary to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, besides the biographical notice of Clerk-Maxwell mentioned above—treated of Light and Thermo-dynamics, and other subjects. It is to be hoped that he may be looked to to revise and continue in the promised supplement to the *Encyclopædia* the series of articles on the properties of matter which his fellow-student, Clerk-Maxwell, left unfinished. Of the Library of Science the *Encyclopædia* comprehends, it is said :—

" Practically every name among the foremost living men of science in England * * *. And, what is more to the point, there is no single topic of importance which is not treated by a writer who is recognised as an authority upon the subject the world over. It is not given to any man to become the master of all the marvellous store of knowledge which is to be found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* ; but it is certainly true that any one who gains a fair working acquaintance with its important treatises would be amongst the most widely and accurately informed of men. In other words it is possible to gain from this single work a thorough and comprehensive education."

" A LIBRARY OF LITERATURE " also the *Encyclopædia Britannica* claims to be.

" One enjoys a poem, or a novel, or a work of history more, when through anecdotes and various bits of biography, one has come to know something of the personality of its author ; and it is doubtless this sense of more or less acquaintance which makes one appreciate modern writers so much more than the great writers of the past. . . . Insensibly we come to neglect the immortals, because they seem to us distant, and their personalities vague and unfamiliar."

As a corrective to this loss of balance, or perspective, one requires to keep at one's side books such as Taine's *English Literature* ; but the work of the great Frenchman is practically the only one of its kind, and it deals only with the literature of a single nation.

" The modern man has no insular wish to ignore the lands which have produced a Victor Hugo and a Balzac, a Goethe and a Heine, a Tolstoi and a Tourgeniev, an Ibsen and a Björnson ; and, on the other hand, even if he possess (possessed ?) . . . histories of the literature of these other lands . . . the collection would be so extensive that we should spend all our time in reading of men of genius, and never their work itself. It is clear that a single compact work, which would treat with an authority and charm, of the literature and writers of all races and all times, would be an inestimable boon to a man who wishes to feel himself well read. No such single work as this exists by itself ; yet it is part of the marvellously varied character of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that it should comprise just such a history of literature as has been here outlined."

A 'History of Literature,' such as is suggested in the above quotation, will be looked for in vain in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (this title, 'blessed' though it be, must really be contracted: it is so long; and 'it does come so often.') But the literature of many countries is fully treated of, under the names of the countries or nations which have produced it, in separate sections, or, sometimes, in independent articles. Thus, 'English Literature' is the title of an article by Mr. Thomas Arnold, M. A., which extends to 32 pages of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. What is exclusively Scottish will be found in 'Scotland, Literature of,' concisely dealt with, in about three pages, by the late Dr. John Small, the Librarian of the University of Edinburgh. This account does not extend beyond the middle of the 17th Century, because, 'as Dr. Small said—"After the removal of the Scottish Court to London and the union of the Crowns in 1603, the old language began to be considered as a provincial dialect; and the writers subsequent to Drummond, who was the first Scottish poet that wrote well in English, take their places among British authors." As there is no heading, 'British Literature,' and the work of Scottish writers since Drummond's time has to be looked for in 'English Literature,' there seems here distinctly a Scottish grievance. Perhaps it was to avoid giving offence in this way, and also because modern Scottish writers would hardly like it to be said that they could not write English, that the title 'English Literature' was adopted, and Mr. Arnold's article was given as an independent one, and not merely as a section of the article 'England,' as French Literature is treated of in Part IV of the article 'France.' Irish Literature does not appear to be recognized at all: it is not treated of under 'Ireland,' and 'Irish Moss' is the only article beginning with the word 'Irish.' Other contributions to English Literature are by such masters of the language as Matthew Arnold, Sir Walter Besant—"an historian and a critic" as well as a novelist. Lord Macaulay, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, John Addington Symonds, Edmund Gosse, W. E. Henley, Robert Louis Stevenson, Theodore Watts-Dunton, Swinburne, Dr. Garnett, and Sidney Colvin, of the last named of whom it is said:—

"Among English writers upon Art there are few who have evinced the combination of sanity and stimulative quality" (?) "in the same degree as has the present keeper of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum; and with the possible exception of Ruskin, there are few better known. He came to the Slade Professorship of Art, Cambridge, with a wide and scholarly training, and continued to occupy that position until 1885. For the greater part of this period he was likewise Director of the Fitz William Museum at Cambridge. He has held his present post at the British Museum since 1884. For the *Encyclopædia Britannica* he has written a notable number of critical articles upon Art and the fine Arts, and upon Botticelli, Dürer, Flaxman, Leonardo, Michelangelo, and others."

Other contributors under the head of English Literature of Articles and Essays, critical and historical, are Walter Herries Pollock, Oscar Browning, and Professor Minto. Edmund Gosse; the author of a *History of Modern English Literature*, and 'Eighteenth Century Literature,' and many other works, contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, historical accounts of the literatures of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, and biographical and critical studies on Cowley, Holberg, Olenchlager, and others. Some twenty years ago appeared Mr. Gosse's volume of *Northern Studies*, in which he introduced to English readers the names of Ibsen, Björnson, Brandes, and Kirkegaard.

The *Literature of France* is dealt with in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by Mr. George Saintsbury, now Professor of English Literature in the University of Edinburgh, in a treatise of 46 pages forming as already mentioned, Part IV of the article 'France.' Professor Saintsbury's other contributions include "a long line of critical studies in the lives of Voltaire, Rousseau, Pascal, Montaigne, Lamartine and many others."

"The works which Professor Saintsbury has written upon English and French Literature alone comprise an exhaustive study of the literary activity of these two peoples. Professor Saintsbury's latest and perhaps most ambitious work is his *History of Nineteenth Century Literature*, in which he endeavours to present, within a single volume, a picture of the literary side of our wonderful century."

"The *Encyclopædia Britannica* is acknowledged to be the finest and most authoritative work of reference in the English language; it is rather a less recognised quality which is revealed by these citations—that it contains some of the most brilliant work of the foremost critics and essayists of this generation. There are simply scores of monographs, of similar excellence to those noted, within its voluminous pages; and did the *Encyclopædia* have nothing else to recommend it, these would be alone sufficient to stamp it as one of the most remarkable productions of the century."

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* may be said to be also a LIBRARY OF MEDICINE in all its branches, and of the cognate sciences. Dr. Charles Mercier, in the introduction to his *Sanity and Insanity*, tells how a corn merchant who consulted him about one of his daughters spoke with scorn of another practitioner who had treated her with 'bromide;' and he thought it a fact of remarkable significance that such a man should have sufficient knowledge to form his own opinion as to the propriety of administering that drug in that case. "Thirty years ago such a remark would have been impossible. Now-a-days society has adopted the opinion of Melancthon—that it is disgraceful for a man not to know the structure and composition of his own body." This brings to mind the story of the not well educated mother, whose daughter, being rather proud of the smattering of physiology she was acquiring at the Board School, had been trying to impart it to the family at home, writing to the teacher—"Please Mr.——, don't

let Mary Anne learn any more about her inside: it's not a bit of use, and beside it's rude." Popular expositions of medicine which are both accurate and well written, and free from any sort of nonsense, are said to be unfortunately rare.

"Moreover," says a pamphlet about the 'Reprint,' "if one were to go about selecting a good Library of Medicine, taking only a single leading work in each of the various branches in Physiology and Pathology, and Surgery, and Anatomy, and Histology, and the rest—he would soon have books enough to employ all his leisure time for the next ten years. Professor Foster's standard *Physiology* is in five large volumes; Quain's *Anatomy* is even more voluminous, and it is seldom that any standard work is confined to a single volume. . . . It may seem strange to say that the *Encyclopædia Britannica* comprises in various special treatises upon medicine precisely such a popular library as an intelligent man or woman, 'ashamed not to know something of the structure and composition of their own bodies,' wishes to acquire. But consider for a moment who are the men who have written the medical sections of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and consider, moreover, what these sections cover. Professor Foster's *Text book of Physiology* is the recognised standard among English-speaking people. For the *Encyclopædia Britannica* Professor Foster has condensed his five large volumes into a terse, vigorous treatise, which contains practically everything which the average man may wish to know of Physiology."

It should be explained, however, that of the 56 pages of the article '*Physiology*' Professor Foster contributed only Part I.—'A General View'—16 pages; while Part II.—'The Nervous System'—20 pages, is by Dr. J. G. McKendrick, Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the University of Glasgow, and Part III.—'The Physiology of Plants,' extending to 19 pages, was written by Dr. Sydney Howard Vines, Sherardian, Professor of Botany, Oxford. Sir William Turner, Editor of the Journal of Anatomy and Physiology, wrote the article upon Anatomy, and Professor John Chiene dealt with Surgery. Sir John Batty Tuke, "amongst the foremost of English 'alienists,' wrote upon his special topics of Insanity, Hysteria, and Aphasia, and also the article 'Hippocrates.'" Professor Schäfer, "whose text-book on Histology is in use everywhere," dealt with his subject; Professor Geddes wrote upon the important topics of Morphology, Sex, and Reproduction; Dr. Creighton upon Pathology and Medicine, and Dr. Stevenson, upon Medical Jurisprudence; and the list might be extended. It is claimed for the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that each of these articles is written by a foremost living specialist in each particular field.

"To the physician himself the *Encyclopædia* is of the most varied interest. Now-a-days a general acquaintance with the sciences, and especially with Chemistry and Physics, and Botany, and comparative Zoology, has become a practical necessity to the well-informed medical man. In the various scientific treatises of the *Encyclopædia* is to be found just that fine balance between essential formation and exposition of theory which marks the work of masters. Considering the vast range of Natural Science at the present day, this compact and graphic style of treatment is of incalculable value."

A LIBRARY of PHILOSOPHY and PSYCHOLOGY the *Encyclopædia Britannica* claims to be; but these are not subjects which

the busy man of the present day cares to spend much time in studying.

"Nevertheless, one does like to know something of Philosophy and its history, and its masters; and nowhere can the same amount of interesting information be found as in the pages of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. All of its philosophical articles have been written by the foremost among living students of philosophy, are notable for the fact that they are concise and compact without being dull and dry. They are for the most part brief, and one can spend evening after evening, taking up one treatise after another, and in this pleasant way acquire a clear and vivid idea of all that has been thought and written from the time of the Greeks to the present day."

Among the writers on Philosophy, for the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* were Principal Caird—on Metaphysics and Cartesianism, and Professor Henry Sidgwick—the occupant of the Chair of Moral Philosophy (or ethics) in the University of Cambridge, than whom "there is no living writer who holds a higher position in this field," and who is "hardly less known in the field of Economics and Political Science. . . . Professor Sidgwick's wife, the sister of the Right Hon'ble Arthur Balfour, and Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge, is likewise a contributor to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, dealing with the subject of spiritualism." Other writers on such subjects were Professor James Sully—on Evolution (in Philosophy), and Dreams; Alexander Bain—on James Mill; Professor W. Wallace—on Schopenhauer and Descartes; Professor Robert Adamson—on Hume and Kant; James Ward—on Psychology; Professor Andrew Seth—on Philosophy, and Weber's Law; Professor A. C. Fraser—on Locke, and Professor G. Croom Robertson—on Hobbes, and Association.

Though there exist a vast number of treatises upon ECONOMICS, such as the works of Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, and others, which no student in this field can afford to neglect; and though every intelligent and active-minded man wishes to know something of the history of the subject, and what valuable work has already been done, it is open to question whether it is actually worth while to plough through the endless literature of the 'dismal science.'

"Alike for the student and the average man of affairs, therefore, the articles comprised in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* are of peculiar value. . . . They give all that is worth knowing of Political Economy, and they are, moreover, compact and concise. . . . These articles have been written by the foremost students of Political Economy in this generation. . . . Thus we find Professor Thorold Rogers writing upon Finance and Free Trade; Professor Bastable upon Money; Mrs. Fawcett upon Communism; Professor J. Shield Nicholson upon Wages, Wealth, and Taxation; The Right Hon'ble Leonard Courtney upon Banking, and Professor Minto upon John Stuart Mill,—to name only a few. There are valuable monographs upon the Corn Laws, Exchange, Socialism, National Debt, the Oneida Community, Famines, Trade Unions and the like, and interesting biographical

studies upon all the great names of the science—Adam Smith, Malthus, Robert Owen, Proudhon, Bentham, and others."

The articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on THEOLOGY and the SCIENCE of RELIGIONS are said to embrace every topic of interest in that field, which includes also religious biography and religious history. They present to the layman rapid reviews of each topic ; while in detail "they provide the clergyman with a whole arsenal of facts, speculations, illustrations, and new methods of study.

"Religions, like organisms, have a history, and, therefore, this is to be studied first, so far as it can be known,—how they rise and spread, grow and fade away ; how far they are the creations of individual genius, and how far of the genius of nations and communities ; what is their mutual historical relation, that is, if one of them sprang from another, or if the whole group are to be derived from a common parent ; lastly, what place is to be assigned to each of these groups or single religions in the universal history of religions."

This quotation from the article in the *Encyclopædia* of Professor C. P. Tiele, of the University of Leyden, author of "*Manuel de l'Histoire des Religions*," indicates the thought which pervades it. All the articles under this head have been written by recognised authorities and represent first-hand knowledge. Professor Edward Burnett Tylor's theory of Animism is carefully presented. Professor Max Müller has himself condensed his views upon the Aryan race, its languages, and its religions, for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Professor Rhys Davids writes on Buddhism, Professor Eggeling on Brahmanism, Professor Legge on Confucius, Professor Noldeke on the Koran, Professor Wellhausen on Muhammad, as well as on Moses and the Pentateuch, Professor Geldner on the Zend-Avesta and on Zoroaster. Professor Flint writes on Theology and Theism ; and Canon Cheyne, among other things, on the ancient Cosmogonies. Professor Robertson Smith, who latterly was associated with Dr. Baynes in the editorship of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, contributed a notable series of essays, of which those on Hebrew Literature and the idea of a Messiah may be cited. Professor Adolph Harnack wrote on the Revelation of St. John, and the early Church Fathers. Archdeacon Farrar, whose study on the Life of Christ ranks among the most popular achievements in Messianic biography, gave, as it were, the essence, the vital substance of it, in some seventeen pages, for the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in his essay—'Jesus Christ.'

"Then there is a long line of biographical studies which include all the great names of Church History. Thus Dean Bradley writes upon Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Principal Shairp upon Keble, Dr. Lindsay Alexander upon Colvin, Dr. McCrie upon John Knox, and Professor Adamson upon Bishop Butler and his Philosophy. There is also full treatment of historical subjects, of which Canon Perry's

survey of the Church of England in history may be taken as a type.

"Embracing every type of interest in the whole field of theology and the science of religious history, the articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* are simply a mine of fresh information and original thought."

A LIBRARY of LAW also, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* claims to be. The articles upon legal subjects have all been written, it is said, by authorities of recognised standing, of whom it suffices to name such well-known men as Sir Frederick Pollock, Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, who delivered the "Tagore" Lectures in Calcutta in 1894; Mr. Edmund Robertson, M.P., Professor Holland, and Sir Travers Twiss. "They tell in a concise and attractive way everything which is of practical value for the man who does not propose to follow the legal profession as a life-work." And the use of the work is recommended to lawyers themselves, as a place where they can find compact yet exhaustive information on every conceivable subject they require to deal with in the exercise of their profession.

To GEOGRAPHY ample space is given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Sir Archibald Geikie contributed a treatise, which extend to 37 pages, divided into three sections, the first entitled 'Progress of Discovery'—dealing with the history of the subject; the second—'Mathematical Geography,' and the third—"Physical Geography." The first section, certainly, will have to be revised in the forthcoming Supplement, and it is to be hoped Sir Archibald has undertaken to do so. The progress of geographical discovery and exploration during the last quarter of a century has been marvellous; and judging by the number of members the Royal Geographical Society of London now consists of—about 30,000—the popularity of the subject is greater than ever. Other articles under this head are 'Historical Geography' and 'Polar Regions,' by Sir Clements Markham; Russia and Siberia (geography) by Prince Krapotkine; 'Atlantic Ocean,' and 'Indian Ocean,' by Dr. Wm. B. Carpenter; 'Figure of the Earth' and 'Geodesy' by Sir A. R. Clarke; 'India' and 'Delhi' by Sir W. W. Hunter; and 'Himalaya' by Sir Richard Strachey,—a complete treatise which covers 16 pages of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and with the help of a sketch map, showing the connexion between the Himalaya Mountains and the Thibetan table-land, and their relation to the adjacent plains and mountains, gives a lucid account of the place the range occupies in Asia—between the Central Asian plain, or plateau to the north and the Indian region to the south—and of its physical geography, geology, meteorology and climate, scenery, and natural history. Sir Richard, more than fifty years ago, as an officer of the East India Company's Engineers, explored

and surveyed in the Himalaya, and during perhaps thirty years thereafter he kept touch with the range: he was, therefore, peculiarly fitted for the task of describing it, and he did so with a loving hand. A figure in the article shows sections of the Alps and the Himalaya drawn to the same scale, and, better perhaps than any description could, gives an idea of the relative magnitude of these two ranges of mountains. The section of the Alps, from Switzerland to Italy, measures about 120 miles: that across the Himalaya, from the plain of India to the plain of Central Asia, measures about 400 miles; and the watershed between India and the Thibetan table-land is 100 miles to the north of the former region. Many of the peaks of the Himalaya are 10,000 feet higher than the highest point in the Alps, and one or two of them are nearly twice as high.

Hardly a day passes without mention in the newspaper and periodical press of some new journey or exploration having been completed or undertaken in some part of the Globe, or some book having been published which gives the result of such enterprise; and very frequently the travellers or explorers are trained observers, who, besides describing what they see and inquire into, accumulate, in their physical and astronomical observations and traverses, data which they lay down in route-maps, and from which professional geographers afterwards draw maps which will fit into the maps of the surrounding countries or districts, and thus give materials for a revised map of a country, or even of a continent. The maps in the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, being the work of perhaps the foremost geographers in Great Britain, W. and A. K. Johnston, of Edinburgh, were doubtless complete and correct up to the date of publication; but Keith Johnston's famous Atlases, as well as those of other geographers, British and Foreign, have frequently, during the last quarter of a century, required revision by the light thrown on the dark places of the earth by the results of successive explorations—sometimes made under the protection of military expeditions, or following on them,—sometimes undertaken by private enterprise; and the maps in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of Central Asia, Africa—in all its quarters, the northern parts of British North America, the North Polar Regions, and the Western and Central parts of Australia—not to speak of smaller parts of the earth's surface—will require to be revised, and filled in up to date.

No one who has made use of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* or even glanced at its pages, can have failed to see the numerous and beautifully drawn maps of "all the countries of the world which are to be found, bound up in the accounts of

the respective countries, and not as in the first two editions collected together in the article 'Geography.' Besides these general maps on a small scale there are to be found maps on larger scales: notably, of all the counties of England, and of all the States comprised in the United States of America; but for some reason—good, doubtless, from the point of view of the proprietors of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, but annoying to and inexplicable by patriotic Scotsmen and Irishmen—there is not a map of any county of either Scotland or Ireland. Surely Lanarkshire, or Co. Cork, is as important from any point of view as is Leicester or Rutland, which have between them a whole-page map. Such defects in the work as these are discoverable only as the necessity for reference to maps occurs. Were all the maps collected into one Atlas, as was done in the first two editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, they would be more in evidence; but it need not, therefore, be said that the plan of the work is in this respect wrong, for successive editors have adhered to it. There are small plans, interspersed in the text, of most of the important towns in the world, as well as other geographical illustrations.

That it is a LIBRARY OF THE FINE ARTS, is a very prominent feature of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The five principal, or greater, 'Fine Arts' are by common consent, says Mr. Sydney Colvin, who contributes 'The Fine Arts' and other articles under this head, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music, and Poetry.

"It is possible in thought," Mr. Colvin says, "to group these five arts in as many different orders as there are among them different kinds of relation or affinity The relation of progressive complexity or comprehensiveness between the five arts, is the relation upon which an influential thinker of recent times, Auguste Conte, has fixed his attention, and it yields, in his judgment, the following order:—Architecture—lowest in complexity Sculpture next; Painting third; then Music; and Poetry highest, as the most complex or comprehensive art of all, both in its own special effects and its resources for ideally calling up the effects of all the other arts, as well as all the phenomena of nature and experiences of life. A similar grouping was adopted—though from the consideration of a wholly different set of relations—by Hegel."

Dr Herman Lotze, 'one of the acutest of recent critics of æsthetic systems,' grouped the Fine Arts on a consideration of the relative degrees of freedom or independence they enjoy—their freedom that is, from the necessity of either imitating given facts of nature, or ministering, as part of their task, to given practical uses.

"In this grouping, instead of the order—architecture, sculpture, painting, music, poetry—music will come first, because it has neither to imitate any natural facts, nor to serve any practical end; architecture next, because though it is tied to useful ends and material conditions, yet it is freed from the task of imitation, and pleases the eye in its degree, by pure form, light and shade, and the rest, as music pleases the ear by pure sound; then, as arts tied to the task of imitation, sculpture, painting, and poetry, taken in

progressive order according to the progressing comprehensiveness of their several resources."

It is obvious that the changes might be rung, in classifying the five arts very differently by looking upon the subject from different points of view,—an archæological and anthropological point, for one, in which an inquirer would trace the 'Fine Arts' back to their dawn in the earliest times. But, again, the Fine Arts might be classified primarily according, *first* as they are the development of natural gifts, which not all men are possessed of, and *secondly*, as they are accretions to natural gifts by imitation, practice and training. It is said that a poet is born, not made; but this seems much more true of a delineator, or limner, one who is born with the power of seeing anything correctly in its varied aspects, and of depicting it graphically in some medium, and also with the power of mentally conceiving the form and appearance of anything, or any scene or situation, and being able to draw it 'out of his own head,' as a child says, so that another person even though himself incapable of delineation, shall be able to recognise what is meant.

So also with *Music*. The man that hath not music in himself is proverbially fit for all that is bad. A musician cannot be made; he must be born with music in him—though by training, and study, and practice, the 'ear of one who cannot think music can be improved to the extent even that he may be able to take a part with others, or learn a livelihood as an executant. And thus Music comes also partly under the second of the two categories suggested above. But in the case of a born musician, Music is a "sense," rather than an 'art.' In 'Fragments of an Autobiography,' by Mr. Felix Moscheles, a recently published book, there is much about his father, the celebrated musician and pianist, and about Mendelssohn, with whom old Mr. Moscheles used to improvise at the piano. They would sit down together, and one would begin to play. "The subject started, it was caught up as if it were a shuttlecock. Now one of the players would seem to toss it up on high or to keep it balanced in mid-octaves with delicate touch. Then the other would take it in hand, start it on classical lines, and develop it with profound erudition until, perhaps, the two joining together in new and brilliant forms would triumphantly carry it off to other spheres of sound. Four hands there might be, but only one soul—so it seemed as they would catch with lightning speed at each other's ideas, each trying to introduce subjects from the works of the other."

It was once the happiness of the present writer to be associated long ago, during the preparation of a project for a

railway in India, with one who was a born musician, as well as an accomplished organist; and when within touch of an instrument—organ, harmonium, or piano—it was a treat to hear him improvise. Give him two or three bars, containing just a definite musical phrase, and he would catch hold of it, play it in different keys, and with variations, and finally treat it in fugal form—continuing for perhaps half an hour without a break. In camp, in the absence of any instrument, if he saw verses he fancied, he would take any scrap of paper at hand, music-ruled or plain, and scribble down music to suit them, the result often being a beautiful solo, or a sweet and scholarly part song. Thus in one “cold weather,” this born musician at spare moments, and on wet days in camp, composed a long and elaborate Cantata to the words of Pope’s “Messiah,” with even, if memory rightly serves, eight-part harmony in it, and an accompaniment for the organ which required only the aid, afterwards, of a musician versed in arranging music for an orchestra to shape into a complete work. As the present writer knows, the ‘musical sense’ is sometimes active in sleep, though dormant, and, according to one’s experience, almost non-existent in waking existence.

The term ‘*Painting*’ seems misleading and therefore objectionable, as commonly used, and does not discriminate between what is a ‘Fine Art’ and what is merely industrial, however skilfully it may be practised. ‘*Drawing*’ is the natural foundation of this Fine Art;—if a man cannot ‘draw,’ *i.e.*, delineate, in black or white, or in monochrome, and indicate in some way the outlines and relative positions of the parts of his subject, neither can he paint, in the artistic sense. A painting is but a coloured drawing, in which the spaces enclosed by outlines are filled in with colours and shades of colouring to show the light and shade the draughtsman desires to represent. A skilful painter may draw his outlines and filling in at once, without a preliminary sketch, but it is drawing all the same. ‘*Sculpture*’ is but a form of ‘drawing’ in which some object or scene the artist sees or imagines is realised in the solid form by the use of a plastic substance which he can mould with his hands into shape; it may be said to be drawing in three dimensions. ‘*Architecture*’ seems to have the least claim of the five to be called a fine art, based as it is on a knowledge of the nature and strength of materials, on the principles of engineering, and experience of human wants. Perhaps the ordinary conception of the term ‘architecture’ is of merely the picture shown in the ‘elevations’ of a building, and no doubt a born draughtsman or artist will design a prettier and more eye-satisfying elevation, or even an interior, than will an engineer who has not the artistic sense ;

but even an artist by nature can qualify as an architect only after he has thoroughly mastered mathematical drawing and the practical part of engineering and building.

"*Poetry*" seems, to some people who are not poets, to be merely laboured prose, which they write all their lives without labour, but put into a more or less formal shape; but probably it is the possession of the musical faculty that enables the best of those who give their attention to this form of composition to express themselves in a form that gives so much pleasure to some people, but which to others seems a mere waste of time. A poet surely does not think in rhythm; but after he has shaped his thoughts in prose he has to put them into some shape which can be called poetry. A man who has never a written line of it may have thought more poetry than many so called a poet has written. Poetry may perhaps be said to be the faculty, natural or acquired, of putting into formal and studied shape the thoughts that arise within one often without form and void, filling one with pleasure—unuttered because, from want of time and study, unutterable. Many people would appreciate good poetry more if it were written in prose. If there is anything to be said that is worth writing or reading, why should it not be written in 'plain English?' But then if it were, what would become of the critics and biographers who deify or idolise the poets, and to some extent live upon them, like parasites?

In treating of the Fine Arts, and their relative places and importance, one has to consider the enumeration and classification of the lesser or subordinate fine arts, all of which require for their successful practice certain mental qualities. *Acting*, "an art auxiliary to poetry, but quite different in kind." (surely it is much auxiliary to prose?); *dancing*, an art not auxiliary but subordinate to music, from which in kind it differs no less; *eloquence* in all its kinds, so far as it is studied and not merely spontaneous; "embroidery and the weaving of patterns, pottery, glass-making, goldsmiths' work and jewellery, joiner's work, and a score of dexterities. "To decide whether any given one of these has a right to the title of Fine Art, and if so, to which of the greater fine arts it should be thought of as appended and subordinate, or between which two of them intermediate, is often no easy task.

Under the head—"Fine Arts" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the treatise of 94 pages, including index and glossary, on *Architecture*, which though attributed in the advertisements of the 'Reprint' to Professor Middleton of Cambridge, bears the initials of T. Hayter Lewis, late Professor of Architecture University College, London, and George Edmond Street, R. A.' author of 'The Gothic Architecture of Spain.' This article is

perhaps the most profusely illustrated of any article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, there being 18 Plates, which give, besides pictures of some of the most famous buildings in different parts of the world, details illustrative of the different styles of architecture, and examples of the various kinds of ornament employed in them. The glossary of architectural terms (especially classical and mediæval) extends to over 16 pages of small print, and, containing as it does detailed descriptions and references to the examples to be found in many buildings, is itself a valuable work of reference.

Other writers on the pictorial Five Arts were the late William Morris—on Mural Decorations. Sir George Reid, President, since 1891, of the Royal Scottish Academy, who contributed an expanded survey of the history of painting; Prof. Hymans of Brussels—on Rubens and Vandyck; Dr. A. S. Murray upon Etrurian Art and upon Phidias; William Rosetti upon Murill, and Titian, and others; P. G. Hamerton upon Engraving and Drawing; Sir Rutherford Alcock upon Japanese Art; Austin Dobson upon Hogarth, and J. F. White on Rembrandt and Velasquez.

Of *Music* Sir George Macfarren contributed—'History of Music,' Professor R. H. M. Bosanquet—'The Science of Music,' Dr. Francis Hueffer—'Bach' and 'Beethoven,' Mr. Sidney Colvin—'Bellini,' and W. S. Rockstro—'Mozart' and 'Wagner.'

On the *Drama*, Professor Baynes wrote 'Shakespeare,' Professor Saintsbury—'Corneille' and 'Voltaire,' Mr. Andrew Lang—'Molière,' Professor A. W. Ward—'Drama,' and Mr. James Sime—'Lessing' and 'Schiller.'

Biography is a leading feature of the *Encyclopædia*. 'A typical dictionary of biography is worthless, except as a reference for dates;' while such a work as the *National Dictionary of Biography*, which was begun by Mr. Leslie Stephen and is now approaching completion under the able editorship of Mr. Sidney Lee, is beyond the reach of most buyers of books. This monumental work has now attained to its fifty-fourth volume. As it deals only with Englishmen—born and naturalised (and Scottish and Irishmen, surely?). "A dictionary of world-biography on a similar scale would fill hundreds upon hundreds of volumes."

"There is only one work in the English language which comprises such a library of biography as laymen and women want to possess. That is the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. For it the greatest Englishmen of this generation have written, men of the type of Macaulay, and Matthew Arnold, and John Morley, and James Bryce, and Professor Seeley, and the poet Swinburne, and Archdeacon Farrar, and Clerk-Maxwell, and Dean Merivale, and Goldwin Smith. Each of these writers has contributed one or more of the notable biographies included in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; and there are hundreds of others of like excellence and interest."

So far, the 'literature'—advertisements and pamphlets—issued from *The Times* office in booming the 'Reprint' has been taken as a guide in noticing the writers and men of Science who contributed to the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the articles they wrote; but as, somewhat unaccountably, public attention has not been called in that way to the articles under a few other general heads, these must be sought for by a glance through the different volumes. The titles of about three hundred and fifty of the more important of these have been jotted down, and the names of the writers ascertained by looking up the initials attached to them in the list of contributors given at the end of the Index volume. It is true that, in one announcement, 'Curious Beliefs, Customs and Superstitions' were mentioned as one head, 'Sports and Pastimes' as another, 'Applied Science and Mechanics' as a third, and 'Practical Information' as a fourth; but no writers or articles were referred to as coming under them. And as many articles have a scientific as well as a practical side, classification and selection for notice would be rather troublesome. But time will not admit of any attempt to classify the few articles that can now be noticed, or to group them under the names of the writers. Alphabetical order will therefore be followed, as in the *Encyclopædia* itself. Also any notice of the first two of the heads just mentioned must be omitted.

Aeronautics is the title of a treatise of 22 pages * which is illustrated by a plate containing figures of some of the early balloons and parachutes, and by smaller illustrations in the text. The author is Mr. James Glaisher, F. R. S., who, during the years 1862-1866, made no less than 22 ascents for the purpose of taking meteorological and other scientific observations. Mr. Glaisher's ascents were made in balloons directed by professional aeronauts, such as Mr. Coxwell, and his attention was thus not generally distracted from his instruments by having to share in the management of the balloon. The observations thus made were very numerous, and they are to be found recorded in the reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, under whose auspices the ascents were made; but many interesting particulars are given in the article under notice. In one ascent, made on 5th September, 1862, Mr. Glaisher continued observing and recording until 29,000 feet (the height of the highest mountain in the Globe) was reached, and from the rarity of the atmosphere and the low temperature, he then became insensible for some minutes, during which period it was calculated, from the recorded rates

* It may be here be mentioned that each page of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is in double column, and contains about 27 times the number of words to be found in one page of the *Calcutta Review*.

of ascent and descent before and after the period of unconsciousness, that the balloon reached the height of 37,000 feet. Mr. Coxwell also nearly lost consciousness, and his hands were frozen, so that, in order to descend, he had to open the valve by seizing the rope with his teeth. Besides giving an account of early experiments, resulting in the invention of the balloon, and of remarkable ascents by celebrated aeronauts who were not men of science, Mr. Glaisher's article tells of scientific ascents made before his time. He deals with the history of parachutes from the time of Blanchard in 1875 to that of Cocking and Hampton in 1837-39, and then notices flying machines. The theory of the equilibrium and motion of a balloon is then expounded and mathematically investigated. This article certainly justifies the boast of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that it enlists in its service the best authorities that are procurable. The account of parachutes will want revising, and Military ballooning also will want expanded treatment, in the promised Supplement to the *Encyclopædia*.

'*Agriculture*' is the title of an important treatise, which occupies no less than 125 pages of the *Encyclopædia*, and is divided into twenty chapters. It is illustrated by 8 plates of farm buildings, and various breeds of cattle and sheep, besides numerous wood cuts in the text. The writer was Mr. William Thomas Thornton, the author of "A Plea for Peasant Proprietors," The length of this treatise precludes any epitome of its contents; but it may be said that it appears to include almost everything that is necessary for an agriculturist to know concerning the management of land, the growth of crops and the raising and fattening of stock.

In the space of twelve pages a very interesting account was given by Dr. Alexander Stuart Murray, of the British Museum, and Mr. John F. Bateman, F. R. S. then President of the institution of Civil Engineers, and Engineer-in-chief of the Manchester Water Works, of '*Aqueducts*, from early classical times down to the completion of the works for the supply of water from Loch Katrine to Glasgow, and to New York from the Croton Lake. This is illustrated by two plates, chiefly of the beautiful and celebrated remains of ancient structures, and also many small figures in the text. The treatise is limited to the conveyance of water in masonry or iron ducts. The storage and distribution of water are dealt with elsewhere by other writers.

'*Arboriculture*' deals with a very important subject under the head of industrial arts. The author was Dr. Hugh Cleghorn, who belonged to the Forest Department of the Government of India, and was the author of '*Forests and Gardens of South India*.' After alluding to the forests of ancient times and

the state and progress of Forestry in France, Germany, and Britain from the 15th Century, and what was being done in British India at the time he wrote, Dr. Cleghorn gave a general view of the trees cultivated in Britain, and of the timber they yield, and then treated successively of 'Trees suited for particular purposes,' 'Roadside Trees and Hedges,' 'Coppice' Ornamental trees and Shrubs, 'Propagation and Culture in the Nursery,' the Formation and Management of Plantations'; and for fuller information he referred to various standard works on the subject of Arboriculture and Forestry, including 'The Forester' by James Brown, some French and German books, 'The Transactions of the Scottish Arboricultural Society' 'The Forest Flora of Northern India,' by Drs. Stewart and Brandis, and some works on American trees.—Forestry and Forest Administration in India have made such strides since Dr. Cleghorn wrote that the subject as regards that region deserves more extended treatment in the supplement now under preparation,—though perhaps under a different letter of the alphabet.

Arch, Artillery, Assaying, Baking, Balance, Bee keeping, Bells, Bellows, and Blowing Machines, Blasting, Bleaching, Block-making' Book-binding, Brass-work, Breeding of domestic animals, Brewing, Bricks and Brick-making, are the subjects of articles at once interesting and useful; but like hundreds of others in the *Encyclopædia* they must be passed by with simple mention. Many of these articles are illustrated. 'Bridges' is a treatise of 57 pages, by the late Fleeming Jenkin, F. R. S., Professor of Engineering in the University of Edinburgh, a work which begins by dealing with the strength of materials, and then mathematically investigates the structure and strength of beams, suspension bridges, arches, frames compound structures and substructures, and then describes examples of every sort of design and construction,—the whole being profusely illustrated by mathematical and structural diagrams, and plates containing views of the examples, both architectural and perspective. This treatise was reprinted and published separately soon after it appeared in the *Encyclopædia*.

'Buildings' also, by Mr. Wyatt Papworth, Architect, is a complete treatise extending to 66 pages—which comprises 'General Principles of Construction,' and notices of the various trades and kinds of work involved in building—such as brickwork, paving and draining, masonry, carpentry, joinery, slater-work, plumber-work, plaster-work, house-painting and glazing, smith-work, and gasfitting. There were seven plates and numerous small illustrations.

'Calico Printing' is the subject of a short illustrated treatise

by Mr. James Paton, the Curator of the Glasgow Corporation's Galleries of Art, whose initials "I. Pa." are attached to numerous other articles on Industrial Arts and Industries, such as Baking, Bleaching, Carriages, Outlery, Distillation, Textile Fibres, Flour-manufacture, Hosiery, Jute, Linen manufacture, Leather, Milk, Matches, Oils, Paraffin, Pigments, Pins, Preserved Food, Rope, Sewing Machines, Sugar, Tea, Tobacco, and Tobacco Pipes, Weaving, Wool, and Woollen manufactures.

'*Clocks*' is a treatise by that well-known authority Sir Edmund Beckett—now Lord Grimthorpe. It extends to 23 pages, and, with the help of many illustrations, gives an account of clocks of all sorts, and the details of their construction, from the 12th or 13th century, when the earliest true clocks were made, down to the time when the article was written. Lord Grimthorpe is the author of several learned books on clocks and bells; and he it was who designed the great clock and bells for the houses of Parliament at Westminster, and superintended their construction. Here, or hereabouts, in alphabetical order, come articles on Bronze, Button, Calculating Machine, Canals, Camera, Lucida, Cameo, Candles, Carpets, Carving, Catacombs, Charcoal, Cheese, Cofferdams, Coke, Mariners' Compass, Cookery, Copper, Cotton, Diving and the Diving Bell, Dockyards, Drawing, Dredge, and Dyeing.

'*Coal*' is an important treatise, of 36 pages, which includes the subject of mining for, or 'winning' Coal. The author is H. Bauerman, F. G. S., the author of 'Metallurgy of Iron,' who, if memory is correct, inspected and reported on the coal and iron fields of India for the Government. The physical properties and classification are first treated of, the geological sequence is given, and the British coal-fields are described in some detail, with help of a map—on which, by the way, are marked, in continuation of the axis of the coal-field of South Wales, across the South of England till they leave the coast at the East Neuk of Kent, the possible axis of underground coal measures, and the axis of carboniferous limestone and Devonian strata. This is of peculiar interest since boring and shaft-sinking have lately proved the existence of workable coal near Dover, though at a great depth. The map shows the exposed and concealed areas of the coal measures in Britain. The coal-fields of continental Europe also are described, and those of British India, China, Japan, Borneo, Australia, New Zealand, and America. The section, 'Coal-mining,' is illustrated by three plates, as well as by numerous diagrams; and Ventilation, Winding, Safety lamps, and Surface arrangements are treated of and illustrated. Lastly, the statistics of output and accidents are noticed, and a list is given of the more important works relating to Coal and Coal-mining.

In the article '*England*' will be found, in Section IV, much concerning the produce of Minerals and Metals in the limited Kingdom; in Section V are given the statistics of Textile manufactures and Fisheries; in Section VI will be found statistics showing the development and progress of British Shipping; in Section VII Railways, Canals, and Roads are dealt with; and in Section VIII the statistics are given of the Post and Telegraph Department, which is so largely a mechanical industry and art. Under the letter 'E' come also such articles as Electro-metallurgy, Engraving, and Explosives. Under F we find—Fermentation, Files, Filters, Fire, Fire-clay and Fire-bricks, Flax, Flying Machines, Floor Cloth, Forests, Fortification, Founding, Fresco, Fuel, Fur, Furnaces, and Furniture.

'*Fortification*' is a treatise of 48 pages, by Col. Sir Charles H. Nugent, R.E., and the late Major-General Portlock, R.E.,—illustrated with 9 plates and many cuts in the text, which seems very complete, though perhaps somewhat wanting in modern instances. *Gas*, and *Gas-lighting*, by Mr. James Paton, is fully illustrated as regards the production and purification of Coal Gas, and there is a section regarding other sources of production; but under 'burners' nothing is to be found as to the incandescent system, which now tends, in some form or other, to become universal. '*Glass*' contains a learned history of the art, and detailed descriptions of the various processes for the manufacture of the different kinds of glass in use, with plates and other illustrations of the furnaces and the tools used; and under the head of *Glass Painting* an interesting account is given of the history and manufacture of stained glass. '*Gold*,' including '*Gold-mining*,' and extraction from the ore, is a treatise which, owing to the development of the industry in recent times by discoveries of new alluvial deposits and gold-bearing strata in Africa, Australia and North-Eastern America, must need writing up to date. Gems, Gilding, Granite, Guano, Gum, Gun-making, Gunnery, Gunpowder, and Gutta Serena, are other articles under the letter 'G.'—'*Graduation*' or the Art of dividing straight scales, circular arcs, or whole circumferences into any required number of equal parts, which is the most important and difficult part of the work of the mathematical instrument maker, and is required in the construction of most physical, astronomical, nautical, and surveying instruments—is treated of by Mr. James Blyth, M.A., Professor of Natural Philosophy in Anderson's College, Glasgow. An illustration is given of the dividing engine made by William Simms in 1843, and still perhaps in use in the workshop of the celebrated firm of Troughton and Simms near London.

'*Harbours and Docks*' is the title of a concise treatise of

16 pages by Mr. Thomas Stevenson, C.E., the author of the work *Lighthouse construction and illumination*—which, with the help of five plates, and other illustrations, gives a resumé of the whole subject. 'Hair'—human and bestial, Hammer, Hand Tools, Harmonium, Heating, Herbarium, Honey and Honey Farming, 'Horse' and Horse breeding, Horsemanship, Hospitals, Hybridism, and Hygiene, are the subjects of other articles which come in this part of the alphabet.

'*Horticulture*' is the subject of a very complete treatise, which extends to 84 pages of the *Encyclopædia*—much of it in small print. It was written by the late Mr. Thomas Moore, F.L.S., who was Curator of the Royal Botanic Garden, Chelsea, and the author of various works on Ferns. Part I treats of the principles or Science of Horticulture; Part II of the practice of the Art, and this is illustrated very fully; Part III is about Garden Materials and appliances; Part IV is—'Garden Operations'; Part V is 'Flowers'—or rather 'Flowering Plants'; Part VI is 'Fruits'; Part VII 'Vegetables'; and Part VIII gives a Calendar of Garden Operations for Great Britain and for the United States of America, chiefly for the Latitude of New York.

Under the letter 'I' will be found a very important treatise on '*Iron and Steel*,' by Dr. Charles R. Alder Wright, F.R.S., of 81 pages, copiously illustrated by drawings of furnaces, apparatus, and machines. Dr. Wright divides his subject into nine general heads:—I, General Characters of Iron, and relationship to other elements; II, Natural Sources; III, Extraction of Iron from its ores; IV, Manufacture of Cast Iron; and Iron Smelting; V, Conversion of pig iron into malleable iron and steel by decarbonization processes; VII, Production of malleable iron and steel from the ore at one operation; VIII, Methods of steel production essentially involving combination of the preceding processes; IX, Physical qualities of Iron and Steel in their practical relationships; and X, Statistics of the iron trade. Other articles under 'I' and 'J' are Ink, Irrigation, Ivory and Vegetable Ivory, Jade, Japanning and Jewellery—illustrated by two beautiful plates of antique and Renaissance ornaments, and written by Mr. George Wallis, the keeper of the Art Collection, South Kensington Museum.

Under 'K' we find Kaolin, Kelp, Knots, under 'L,' Lac, Lace—by Mr. A. S. Cole, of the Art Division, South Kensington Museum, and illustrated by drawings of various kinds of Lace, and of a Lace Machine; Lacquer, Lamp Lapidary, Lard, Lathe, Lead, Lemon, Lifeboat, Lifts, Electric Lighting, Linoleum, Li-queurs, Lithography, Door-Locks, and Ship-Logs. '*Lighthouse*' is the title of a 15 page treatise by Mr. Thomas Stevenson, than whom no one better fitted to deal with the subject could have

been found. On one plate are shown elevations or sections of ten light-houses, drawn to the same scale, from Winstanley's on the Eddystone rock, of 1669, to Sir J. H. Douglas's New Eddystone, which was lit in 1882. Other illustrations show iron structures, and many lanterns and lamps. Under 'M' will be found Machine Tools, Magnetism, Maize, Malachite, Malt, Manganese, Manilla Hemp, Manometer, Manure, Map, Marble, Mercury, Metallurgy, Metal Work, Meteorology, Metronome, Micrometer, Microscope, Mineralogy, Mineral Waters, Mining, Mint, Mirror, Mohair, Mosaic, Mural Decoration, and Mushroom-culture.

Among the interesting treatises marked for notice is that on '*Typography*'—the Historical part of which is by Mr. J. H. Hessels, M.A., the author of '*Haarlem, the Birth-place of Printing*;' this covers 16 pages. The rest of the article is by Mr. John Southward, and is occupied with the practical side of the subject: this covers 29 pages, mostly of small print, and is illustrated by many drawings of types, and apparatus, and machines of all sorts—from the simple '*Albion*' and '*Minerva*' hand-presses; which are now nearly superseded by '*Machines*,' up to the large cylinder machines, such as the '*Bremner*,' the '*Marioni*,' the '*Walter*,' and others, without the use of which, combined with the process of stereotyping several copies of the matter and placing them on separate machines, the enormous impressions now required of daily newspapers could not possibly be printed. The sub-headings of this part of the joint treatise are—Types: their material characteristics—including the composition of type-metal and the making of types; and Type-setting, or Composing,—now often done by the aid of machines. Illustrated descriptions are given of the '*Fraser*' composing and distributing machines, which were invented by one of the partners of the old Edinburgh firm of Neill and Company (now Neill and Company, Limited) who printed with a little assistance, the eight and ninth editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,—10,000 pages of the ninth edition are said by Mr. Southward to have been set up by machinery—presumably by the '*Fraser*' machine. This edition was first stereotyped, and afterwards, as the sale increased, electrotyped by the printers; and it is believed that it is from these plates that the recent impression, for which *The Times* is responsible, has been printed. Mr. Southward also describes the processes of Stereotyping and Electrotyping; substitutes for wood-engraving used in producing illustrations which are to be incorporated with printed text, and Colour-printing; and he gives a sketch of the working of a large printing establishment.

'THE TIMES' REPRINT.

Something more must be said about the enterprise mentioned at the outset of this article—the so-called *Times* Reprint of the 9th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. As just above hinted, when mentioning the treatise on Typography, this is not a reprint in the common acceptance of the word: it is merely a large impression thrown off continuously during a year, and sold at about half the price previously charged for the work. The project has met with a success which has shown publishers in the United Kingdom in general how business ought to be done.

The first impression of the Reprint was, in fact, subscribed twice over. It is understood that the impression first ordered by *The Times* was 5,000 copies; and that not long afterwards an urgent order was placed for 10,000 copies more: also that the printing and sale are still going on briskly. The reprint was first offered, in March 1898, at the price of £14 cloth, or, for £1-1 down, and thirteen guineas more payable by monthly instalments, but the second instalment was not asked for until the complete set had been delivered. The Publishers of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, used to sell it for £37 the set, in cloth binding.

The Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* was a success from the beginning, and during the last ten years it has been printed again and again, one volume being always on the press;

“but the printing orders have always been conservative. When the present Reprint was put on the press five thousand copies of each sheet were printed; the cost of one ‘make-ready’ was divided among five thousand sets of sheets. Contracts for the binding were made in the same large fashion. It was expected, and, as the result has shown, with reason, that almost all the purchasers would select the half-morocco binding, in which form the work is now sold for £18, or 18 guineas in monthly payments, as against £45, the former price. To bind 4,250 sets of 25 volumes each in half-morocco and full-morocco necessitates the purchase of goat skins in large quantities, and the larger the quantity, the more cheaply can the skins be bought. No contract for binding involving the use of so much leather has ever before been made.

“The whole process of producing this reprint is, indeed, an admirable exemplification of the advantage of manufacturing in vast quantities. About 85 per cent. of the orders thus far received have been orders for the half-morocco binding, so that the average price has been about £17-8s.—much nearer to the £18 price than to the £14 price for the cloth binding. The same proportion would have made the price, on the former scale, about £14-16s. For every thousand sets the public are, therefore, paying £17,400, as against the £43,800 they were paying at the former price,—a clear saving of £26,400 on every thousand, or £132,000 on the whole impression of 5,000 copies.”

As 15,000 sets are said to have been sold, the total saving, at the present rate, to the public on the purchase of the

Reprint, so far, would have been £660,000. But from last August the offer of the book at the original rate was withdrawn, and presently it was offered on the same conditions at £16 a set, a difference of one shilling in the pound; and in March last, one year after subscription was invited for the Reprint at £14, &c., the sale was stopped, and the Reprint is now advertised at £17, &c.,—"as it is the natural desire of the publishers" (Messrs. A. and C. Black, who it is understood, have been getting a substantial share of the profits of the Reprint) "that a more or less gradual return to the higher price should be effected." Towards the close of the year during which the Reprint was being 'boomed' the advertising became fast and furious, and the public were informed that it would be useless to wait for a cheaper price, or for a tenth edition, in expectation of which some people were said to be hesitating to buy the Reprint of the Ninth Edition. But that idea was said to be finally put out of court by a letter which was printed in *The Times* of March 4th, 1899, from the publishers, the Messrs. Black, in which they said—"We think it is only fair to the public to state definitely that no steps of the sort have been taken, and that, under our existing arrangement with *The Times*, we cannot commence taking any for many years to come. Simultaneously with the publication in other advertising mediums of this letter to *The Times*, there appeared an announcement that, by arrangement between the proprietors of *The Times* and Messrs. A. and C. Black, *The Times* was preparing a supplement to the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

"This Supplement," it was said, "will bring up to date every article in the Ninth Edition. It will contain biographies of such eminent men as Gladstone, Bismarck, Tennyson, Darwin and Pasteur, who have died since the Ninth Edition was published. Each of these biographies will be prepared by a writer especially qualified to deal with that particular subject. The world's history during the past twenty-five years will be exhaustively treated. Scientific progress will be accurately recorded. The new developments of Physics, especially in the fields of electricity and chemistry; the latest achievements in medicine and surgery; recent activity in literature and art; the whole story of the latter part of the 19th century will be fully treated.

"The Ninth Edition was published volume by volume. The subjects treated in the earlier volumes, those which fall under the first letters of the alphabet, are not, of course, as nearly up-to-date as those in the latter volumes. All the twenty-five volumes will, by the addition of this Supplement, be made as complete as if they had all appeared for the first time in 1899.

"The Supplement will be edited by Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, assisted by a competent staff, and by all the leading specialists on the different subjects to be treated. It will be supplied to purchasers of *The Times* Reprint of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* at a reduction of 25 per cent. from the price at which it will be sold to the general public. . . . No tenth edition can, under the contracts made

between *The Times* and Messrs. A. & C. Black, be published for many years to come. The Supplement will serve the purposes and meet the needs which might otherwise have created an early demand for a tenth edition, and it will achieve this result at infinitely less cost to the purchaser than would have been entailed by the issue of a tenth edition. . . . It is hoped that the publication of *The Times* Supplement will be completed before the end of the century."

The "new book-selling" is having imitators, one recent instance being the offer, by a well-known firm, of immediate delivery for one guinea down of a set of 'the 100 best novels,' selected by three eminent literary men, the total price of the set being £12 (writing from memory), payable by instalments, as in the case of *The Times Reprint*. And, just as this article is being finished, comes an announcement by *The Times* itself of an issue of *The Century Dictionary*, which is said to have cost as much as the *Encyclopædia Britannica*—£200,000, and to be "the largest, the handsomest, and the only complete English Dictionary published."...It consists of 8 massive 4to. volumes, enumerating some 225,000 terms, illustrating these with over 300,000 quotations, and providing in all over half-a-million distinct definitions." The price is to be from £13, or 13 guineas in deferred payments, up to £18 (or 18 guineas) for the full morocco binding. "These prices average a reduction of one-third from the publishers net price."

ART. XIV.—VASCO DA GAMA'S VOYAGE.
THE JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA
BY SEA TO INDIA IN THE YEAR 1498.^a

(Concluded from April, 1899, No. 216.)

NOTE.

The literal translations of the Lists of Imports from Arabia into Calicut and of the price of spices at Alexandria are as under :—

IMPORTS INTO CALICUT.

Copper.

The farazella, which contains about thirty arrátees, is worth fifty fanoens, which make three cruzados.

Bezoar Stone.

Bezoar stone sells for its weight in silver.

Knives.

Knives are a fanam a piece.

Rose-water.

Rosewater is fifty fanoens the farazella.

Alum.

Alum is fifty fanoens the farazella.

Camlet.

Camlet (a finely woven woollen stuff) is seven cruzados the piece.

Scarlet Cloth.

Scarlet cloth sells for two cruzados the pequy, that is, three palms.

Quicksilver.

Quicksilver is ten cruzados the farazella.

Taking the farazella at thirty lbs. average and the cruzado at 2s. 3d., the prices of Imports into Calicut are as follows :—

Copper, per cwt., 25s. 2½d.

(The price of raw copper in England per cwt. was in 1576 74s. 6d.)

Knives, 1½d. each.

(Fleshing knives were 3d. each, and kitchen knives were 9d. each in England in 1507.)

Rose-water, 2 10d. per lb.

The price in England, in 1536, was 3s. for six pints and two bottles.

Alum, per cwt., 25s. 2½d.

Camlet, per piece, 15s. 9d.

The price in England fell from 4s. 4d. and 4s. the yard in 1481 to 2s. 8d in 1520. Black camlet cost 4s. the stick (yard) in 1466; other camlet was generally red.

Scarlet cloth, per yard, 5s.

In England, crimson "engrained" and green cloth cost 7s. 5d. to 8s. 6d. per yard in 1464, "if indeed these were woollen goods."

Quicksilver, per lb., 9d.

Besoar was used as an antidote to poison.

The prices set down below are those at which spices are sold at Alexandria:—

Cinnamon	...	...	25	cruzaos	per quintal.
Cloves	...	...	20	fanoeus	" "
Allspice	...	...	15	do.	" "
Ginger	...	...	11	do.	" "
(At Calicut a bacher of five quintals sells for 20 do.)					
Nutmegs	...	...	16	fanoens	per quintal.
Wax	...	...	25	do.	" "
Brazilwood	...	...	10	do.	" "
Rhubarb	...	...	12	do.	per arratel.
Musk	...	...	1	do.	per metical.
Aloe wood	...	...	2	do.	per arratel.
Benzoin	...	...	1	do.	" "
Incense	...	...	2	do.	per quintal.

(In Mecca, where it is grown, it is 2 fanoeus per bacher.)

PRICES OF SPICES AT LISBON.

According to Correia the prices current for spices at Lisbon, just before Vasco da Gama's return, were as under:—

Spice.	Per quintal.	fanoeus=	Per lb.
Allspice	80.		3d.
Cinnamon	180.		3s 2d.
Cloves	200.		3s. 6½d.
Ginger	120.		2s. 1½d.
Mace	300.		5s. 2½d.
Nutmegs	100.		1s. 8½d.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

According to Correia:—

1 Bar = 20 Farcolas = 360 Arrateis = Lbs. 363. 1 Farcola = 18 Arrateis = Lbs. avordupois 18. 18. By these weights all spices were sold at Calicut.

He estimates the King of Portugal's profit on Vasco da Gama's expedition at six thousand per cent., although the spices brought back were not of the first quality.

RELIGIONS IN INDIA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

The following notices of Christianity and other religions in India are taken from the notes of various travellers during the Fifteenth Century.

Niccolo Conti of Venice, who visited India about 1436, says: "At Malepur the body of Saint Thomas lies honour-

ably buried in a very large and beautiful Church : it is worshipped by heretics, who are called Nestorians, and inhabit this city to the number of a thousand. These Nestorians are scattered over all India, in like manner as are the Jews among us. All this province is called Malabar." Of the Buddhists in Siam he also says : " All worship idols ; nevertheless, when they rise in the morning from their beds, they turn towards the east, and, with their hands joined together, say : " God in Trinity and His Law defend us." The monogamy of the Christians is also noted : " The inhabitants of Central India are allowed to marry only one wife ; in the other parts of India polygamy prevails very generally, excepting among those Christians who have adopted the Nestorian heresy, who are spread over the whole of India, and confine themselves to one solitary mate." Socotra, " which produces Socotrine aloes, is six hundred miles in circumference, and is for the most part inhabited by Nestorian Christians."

Like Alvarez Velho, Niccolo Conti notices the similarity which existed between Brahmin temples and Christian Churches. " Gods are worshipped throughout all India, for whom they erect temples very similar to our own, the interior being painted with figures of different kinds. On solemn days these temples are adorned with flowers. Within they place their idols, some made of stone, some of gold, some of silver, and others of ivory. These idols are sometimes of the height of 60 feet. The modes of praying and of sacrificing among them are various. They enter the temple morning and evening, having first washed themselves in pure water ; and sometimes, prostrating themselves upon the ground with hands and feet held up, repeat their prayers and kiss the ground, at others offer incense to their gods by burning spices and the wood of the aloes. The Indians situate on this side of the Ganges do not possess bells, but produce sound by striking together small brazen vessels. They also present feasts to their gods after the manner of the ancient heathens, which are afterwards distributed among the poor to be eaten. In the city of Cambaita the priests, standing before the idols of their gods, deliver a discourse to the people, in which they exhort them to the performance of their religious duties, and particularly urge upon them how acceptable it is to the gods that they should quit this life for their sake. Many present themselves who have determined upon self-immolation, having on their neck a broad circular piece of iron, the fore part of which is round and the hinder part extremely sharp.* A chain attached to the fore part hangs suspended upon the breast, into which

* *N. B.*—Does this correspond to the quilts worn on their turbans by some Indian races?

the victims, sitting down with their legs drawn up and their neck bent, insert their feet. Then, on the speaker pronouncing certain words, they suddenly stretch out their legs, and, at the same time drawing up their neck, cut off their own head, yielding up their lives as a sacrifice to their idols. These men are regarded as saints." The Car of Juggernaut at Bizenegalia is also described. A powerful kingdom, towards the north in the longitude of Upper India was also reported to exist, which was wholly inhabited by Christians. Niccolo Conti fell in with an ambassador who was journeying from its King to Pope Eugenius IV. "The kingdom lies," he says, "twenty days journey from Cathay. Its king and all its inhabitants are Christians, but heretics, being said to be Nestorians; and the patriarch of that people had delegated him to collect more precise information concerning us. He asserted that their Churches were larger and more ornamented than ours, and were constructed entirely of tortoiseshell. Their patriarch possessed great wealth in gold and silver, receiving, at the annual census, one ounce of silver from each head of a family. I conversed with him through the medium of an Armenian interpreter, who understood the Turkish and Latin languages." He also met men who had come to the Pope from Ethiopia on matters concerning the faith. Ethiopia, otherwise known as Piester John's country, included Abyssinia and Gallaland, and, according to an inscription on Fia Mauri's Map, extended, in 1430, as far down the East Coast of Africa as Zanzibar. Consequently there is nothing strange in the existence of Christian communities scattered along that coast in 1498.

Anastasius Nikitin of Tiven in Russia, who, from 1468 to 1474, journeyed in Persia and India in company with a Tartar Ambassador who was bringing falcons from Ivan III, Grand Duke of all Russia, to some of his Tartar allies, found that Dabul was the southernmost port on the Bombay coast held by Mussulmans. He found numerous Buddhists in the northern part of Bombay and describes a statue of Buddha under the name of Boot, and distinguishes between Brahmins and Buddhists in his description of Southern India and Pegu. He fell in with Jews, but not with Christians. It is noticeable that these Jews "called the people of Shabat," a large emporium on the Coroniandel coast, "Jews like themselves; but this is not true, for the people of Shabat are neither Jews, nor Mahomedans, nor Christians, but belong to a different Indian religion. They eat not with Khuds (Jews?), nor Mahommedans, and use no meat." Hieronimo di Santo Stefano, a Genoese, who visited India about 1490, journeying down the Red Sea and getting as far as Pegu, found at Calicut "as many as a thousand

houses inhabited by Christians," like Alvarez Velho, describes the district in which it is situated as "Upper India." We may remark that most of Vasco da Gama's interpreters spoke Genoese; so the coincidence is curious. He carefully distinguishes between the *Moorish* chief of Sumatra and the *Mahomedan* chief of Cambay.

Amongst non-Christian travellers, we may mention Abd-er-Razzak, who, in 1442, went on an embassy from Shah Rokh of Persia to several princes of Southern India. According to this writer, "Calicut is inhabited by Infidels, and situated on a hostile shore" (in other words it was Dar-ul-Harb). It had numerous Mussulman residents, who had their own Kadi, belonged to the sect of Schafei, and possessed two mosques, in which the Khotbah was regularly said. They dressed in magnificent attire after the manner of the Arabs, and manifested luxury in every particular. He distinguishes carefully between the different Hindoo castes, such as Brahmins, Djogis and others, to one of which, which practiced polyandry, the Samorim himself belonged. The inhabitants of Calicut were known as Tchini-betchagan, "sons of the Chinese." He fell in with only one Christian, named Nimel-pezir, who was Daiang, or Eunuch who presides over the divan, to the king of Bidjanagar (Vijainagar).

Such was the state of religion in India in the Fifteenth Century, at the time of the arrival of Vasco da Gama.

The above particulars are collected from the translations of the voyages of Conti, Abd-er-Razzak Nikitin and Hieronymo di Santo Stefano, edited by Mr. R. H. Major for the Hakluyt Society in 1857, and published under the title of "India in the Fifteenth Century," from Latin, Persian, Russian, and Italian sources.

INDIAN ARMIES.

We may note that Nikitin fully confirms the accounts of the enormous armies which could be mustered by the Princes of Central and Northern India. Muskets and siege artillery were well-known, and the towns were very scientifically fortified.

PRICES OF PRECIOUS STONES AND SPICES.

Those interested in the prices of precious stones and spices may usefully compare the tables given in Duarte Barbosa's "Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar," pp. 208-224, compiled about 1514, which was translated from Portuguese into Spanish in 1524 by Min. Centurion, Genoese Ambassador to Spain, and subsequently translated from the Spanish by the Hon. H. J. Stanley for the Hakluyt Society in 1866. Both weights and coinage differ very con-

siderably from those given by either Alvarez Velho or Correia. Roughly speaking both the *Fanam* and the *Farasella* are reckoned at about one-third less by Barbosa than they are by either of the other authors.

His *Fanam* equals twenty reis of Portugal in place of thirty, making 36 Spanish maravedis, worth double those of the present standard, of which a real contains 34. Thus the *Fanam* was equal to two Spanish reals, or half a peseta=6*d.* English. According to Barbosa, 10 fanams made a cruzado.

Barbosa's "Account of the Weights and Measures of Portugal and of the Indies," runs as follows:—

IN PORTUGAL

A pound of the old weight contains 14 oz. A pound of the new weight contains 16 oz.; eight quintals of the old weight make seven quintals of the new, and each quintal of the new weight is of 128 lbs. of 15 oz. Each old quintal is three-quarters and a half of a new quintal, and is of 128 lbs. of 14 oz. each.

INDIES.

A farazola is 22 lbs. of 16oz, and 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. more (Alvarez Velho says near 30 ariatees). Twenty farazolas (the "Roteiro" says thirty) are one bahar. One bahar is four old quintals of Portugal (or four hundredweight English; a bahar according to the Roteiro=5 quintals). All spices and drugs, and anything which comes from India, is sold in Portugal by old weight; at present all the rest is sold by new weight.

ARTICLES OF TRADE.

Barbosa adds the following articles of trade to the list given by the Roteiro.

Borax, camphor used for anointing the idols, for eating and for the eyes, eaglewood, fresh tamarinds, sweet flags, used in medicine, indigo, adulterated with sand, amber, mirabolams of many kinds, sandalwood, white, coloured and lemon, "which grows in an island called Timor," evidently, therefore, a new discovery in Barbosa's day, spikenard, southernwood, wormwood, turbithi, the root of a species of convolvulus used as a purgative: calumba root, zedoary, fennel gum or sagapeno, used for diachylum, cardamums, tutty, a sublimate of calamine, cubebs from Java, opium, of the first quality from Aden, of the second quality from Cambay. Amongst precious stones he adds to the list diamonds, balasses, so-called from "Balaxayo" which is a kingdom of the Mainland near Pegu and Bengal, topazes, turquoises from Kerman, hyacinths, cat's eyes, chrysoliths, amethysts, zircon and emeralds.

Mr. Stanley was informed by Mr. Capt, the celebrated

jeweller of Geneva, that the proportions of the prices of the precious stones, according to their weight, given by Barbosa, are still very exact for uncut stones in the Indian market, and that the general accuracy of the details given by him is very great.

BARBOSA'S GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE.

It may be noted that Barbosa, writing in 1514, is acquainted with the Moluccas, Timor, and China, and has a good and exact knowledge of the Persian Gulf. Niccolo Conti, seventy years before, had stated that beyond the Moluccas "the sea is not navigable, and the stormy atmosphere keeps navigators at a distance." It is difficult, therefore, to understand the limitation of geographical knowledge shown in the "Roteiro." As Duarte Barbosa was so well acquainted with the Persian Gulf, of which he gives a Periplus, it is probable that we can account for the omission to describe it in the "Roteiro" only by the fact that there was no direct communication between its ports and those of East Africa, where Vasco da Gama procured his pilots. Vessels using the monsoons when going to India stood north-east from Melinde to Calicut: those returning took their departure from Goa and made a landfall anywhere north of Mozambique; hence what trade there was between the Red Sea and the Gulf Ports probably went through India.

TABLE OF MONIES, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

				<i>Monies.</i>		
				£	s	d.
1	Milreis	... (Portuguese)	...	...	0	4 6
	= 1,000 Reis.					
1	Cruzado	... "	...	...	0	2 3
	= 500 Reis.					
1	Xarafin	... (Indian)	...	...	0	1 4' 2
	= 10 Fanoens = 300 Reis = 20 Fanoos.					
1	Fanam	... " (Indian).	...	...	0	0 1' 62
	= 30 Reis. = 2 Fanoos					
1	Silver Peso	... (Spanish)	...	...	0	4 3' 3
1	Metical	... (Egyptian)	...	...	0	2 1' 16
	= 420 Reis.					
1	Fanoo	... (Indian)	...	...	0	0 0' 81
	= 15 Reis.					
				<i>Weights.</i>		
				Lbs.	Av.	
1	Bachar	... (Indian)	...			606
	= 20 Farazellas.					
1	Farazella	... (")	...			30.3
	= 30 Arratees.					
1	Arratel	... (Portuguese)	...			1.01
1	Bachar of Spices	... (Indian)	...			640
	= 5 quintals.					
1	Quintal	... (Portuguese)	...			128
1	Metical	... (Egyptian)	...	5/6ths of an English		Drachm,

Measures of Length.

1 Legoa	...	(Portuguese)	... Miles 3, of 60 miles to a degree.
1 Pequy	...	(Indian)	... 2 ft. 6 in.
= 3 Palms.			
1 Palm	...	(Portuguese)	... 10 in.

CALENDAR OF VASCO DA GAMA'S VOYAGE TOGETHER WITH THE
CORRESPONDING REFERENCES IN THE
LUSIAD OF CAMOENS.

It may be pointed out that the Fourth and Fifth Cantos of the Lusiad appear to be based mainly upon the "Roteiro."

Date.	Event.	Of Lusiad. Canto. Stanza.
1497.		
Saturday, July 8.	Departure from Restello	IV 81. V 3.
" " 15.	Sight the Canaries	" " "
Wednesday, " 26.	Reach Santa Maria on St. Thiago T. in C. Verd Is.	V. 4-10.
Thursday, August 3rd.	Leave St. Thiago (South Africa.)	V. 10.
Wednesday, Nov. 8.	Reach St. Elena Bay	V. 24-36.
Thursday, " 16.	Sail from St. Elena Bay	V. 36.
Wednesday, " 22.	Round Cape Point	V. 37-60.
Saturday " 25.	Anchor in St. Braz Bay (now Mossel Bay.)	V. 61 64.
Here they erect a cross and a stone beacon.		
Thursday, Dec. 7.	Leave Mossel Bay	V. 65-67.
Friday, " 15.	Sight As Ilhas Chãos (Bird Island in Algoa Bay.)	" " "
Saturday, " 16.	Pass Cape Padrone (B. Diaz's last beacon)	" " "
Sunday " 17.	Reach Rio do Ynfante (Great Vis River.)	" " "
This was the last point reached by B. Diaz in 1486.		
Monday, " 25.	Have discovered seventy leagues of new coasts.	V. 65-67.
(Christmasday).		
This is the day on which Vasco da Gama is said to have discovered Natal,		
1498.		
Friday, January 11.	Enter Rio do Cobre (Manice or Inhampura R.)	V. 69.
Thursday, January 15.	Sail from Rio do Cobre	V. 74-83.
Friday " 25.	Enter the Rio dos bous Signaes (Quillimane Mouth of Zambesi R.)	" " "
Here the First Beacon, St. Raphael's Beacon, is erected.		
Saturday, Feby. 24.	Sail from Rio dos Bono Signaes. East Africa.	V. 7-83.
Thursday, March 1.	Sight Mozambique	I. 43-44. V. 84-85.
Their stay at Mozambique described		I. 46-94.
Sunday, " 11.	Sail from Mozambique	I. 95-105.
Thursday, " 15.	Reenter Mozambique	" " 12

Tuesday, March 26.	Sail from Mozambique for St. George's Islands	1. 95-105.
Thursday „ 29 (?)	Sail from St. George's Islands ...	„
Sunday, April 1.	Reach Querimha Islands ...	„
Wednesday, „ 4.	Sail from Querimha Islands ...	„
Friday, „ 6.	The S. Rafael grounds on the Baixos de S. Rafael, shoals off Pangani River.	„
Saturday, „ 7.	Refloated and sails for Mombasa.	„
Sunday „ 8. (Palm Sunday).	Reach Mombassa	.. II. 1-6. V. 84-85.
	Their stay at Mombassa described.	II. 7-63.
Thursday, April 12. (Holy Thursday).	Sail from Mombassa	... II. 64-71.
Sunday, April 15. Easter Sunday).	Reach Melinde ...	... II 72-77 V. 85.
	Their stay at Melinde described.	II. 78. VI. 5.
Tuesday, April 24.	Sail from Melinde Indian Ocean.	... VI 5.
	Voyage to Calicut (23 days at sea.)	VI. 6 91.
	India.	
Friday, May 17.	Sight land behind Calicut (Mt. Dilli.)	... VI. 92-99.
Sunday, „ 19.	Arrive and anchor at Capua (Kappakatta)	VII. 1-16.
Monday, „ 28.	Visit King of Calicut	... VII. 42-66.
	Their stay at Calicut described	.. VII 16, IX. 15.
At Calicut the Second Beacon, that of St. Gabreil, was erected.		
Monday, August 13.	Sail from Calicut ...	... IX. 13-17.
Tuesday „ 28.	Diogo Diaz returns on board.	
Thursday „ 30.	Battle with Calicut flotilla.	
Monday, September 10.	Land at Compia, (Cananore).	
Saturday „ 15	Reach S. Mary's Islands, (Mulki Rocks).	
	Here the 3rd, or St. Mary's, Beacon was erected.	
Saturday, „ 15.	Sail from St. Mary's Islands.	
Thursday, „ 19.	Land on Malabar Coast near Vingorlá Rocks.	
Sunday „ 22.	Reach Anchediva Island.	
Friday, October 5.	Sail from Anchediva Island, Indian Ocean.	

The passage to Magadoxo takes 3 months less 3 days.

East Africa.

1499.

Wednesday, Jany. 2.	Sight Magadoxo.	
Saturday, „ 5.	Fight off Patta ^e (Patta).	
Monday, „ 9.	Arrive at Melinde.	
Here a Beacon, still existing, was erected.		
Friday, „ 11.	Sail from Melinde.	
Saturday. „ 12.	Pass Mombassa.	
Sunday, January 12.	Reach S. Raphael's Shoals.	
	Sail from S. Raphael's Shoals.	
Monday „ 21.	Sight Jamgiber, (Island of Zanzibar).	
Friday, February 1.	Anchor at S. George's Islands.	
	(Sail same day).	

VASCO DA GAMA'S VOYAGE.

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Here a Beacon was erected on Mass Island.

(South Africa.)

- Sunday, March 3. Reach Mossel Bay.
Tuesday, " 12. Sail from Mossel Bay.
Wednesday, " 20. Pass Cape of Good Hope.
West Africa.
Thursday, April 25. Reach Soundings on the Rio
Grande Banks.
" 25 The ships part company.
Wednesday, July 10 Nicholas Coelho reached the
Bar of the Tagus.
Thursday, August 29. Vasco da Gama reaches Lisbon X. 142-14.
The description of the Return Voyage to Portugal given in the Ninth
and Tenth Cantos of the *Lusiad* is purely imaginary.

IN CŒLO QUIES.

Never to wake again,
Never to be where human love rejoices,
Nor hear the earth's glad voices
Raised after storm and rain.

Nor evermore behold
The shifting sheen and shadows of the Ocean,
Nor hear his rhythmic motion
Upon the shingles rolled.

Nor watch the summer light
Make checker on the mossy bank of fountains,
Nor, from the lonely mountains,
Number the stars of night !

Ah ! Yet to miss the pain,
The care, of yesterday and of to-morrow,
The fear that comes of sorrow,
By waking not again.

While the delivered Soul,
Free from the task of hearing and seeing,
Renews her happy being,
Plunged in the boundless Whole !

So comes to those who weep,
With contrite heart His holy footstool pressing,
—To others bane or blessing—
To His beloved, Sleep !

H. G. K.

THE QUARTER.

IN our last quarterly retrospect we remarked that, as far as general politics were concerned, the most noteworthy feature of the previous three months was the marked improvement that had taken place in international relations. That improvement has advanced still further in the period now under review. Not only have the negotiations with France, which were then stated to be progressing favourably been brought to a happy conclusion, but an understanding of hardly less importance has been arrived at with Russia. Again, as when we last wrote, the only note of discord comes from the United States, and the breakdown of the Commission for the adjustment of disputed matters between the two Powers in North America which we had already recorded has become emphasised by further exchange of opinions, and seems to be regarded on both sides as definitive.

By the Anglo-French agreement, the terms of which were published in Paris on the 22nd March in a semi-official Note, a line is drawn, running roughly north and south through the borderlands in dispute, to the west of which England, and to the east of which France, pledges herself to acquire neither territory nor political influence. From the northern frontier of the Congo State to 11° N. this line follows the watershed of the Nile and Congo, and from 11° N to 15° W. it is left to be traced by a mixed Commission in such a way that it shall leave Darfur to England and Wadai to France. From a point near the southern frontier of Tripoli, again, to the northern frontier of Darfur, the line is traced south-east from the point of intersection of the sixteenth degree of East Longitude with the Tropic of Cancer until it cuts the twenty-fourth degree of East Longitude, after which it follows that degree. This gives England the entire basin of the Upper Nile up to the Great Lakes, while it leaves open to France Bagirmi, Wadai and Kanem to the north and east of Lake Chad and the Tibesti region to the south-east of Tripoli. At the same time the treaty extends to the country between Lake Chad and the Upper Nile, the provisions of the Niger Convention which confer on the citizens of either nation equal commercial rights in certain districts of West Africa. By this provision, says the *Times*, France obtains commercial access to the Nile from the fifth to beyond the fourteenth degree of North Latitude, while England acquires

similar rights, not only over the caravan routes between Lake Chad and the Nile basin, but on the Mbomu and in the basin of the Upper Congo. The agreement has been favourably received in England, where it is understood, perhaps prematurely, to give the quietus to the Egyptian question, and on the Continent of Europe, except in Italy. That it makes for good feeling between England and France, and for the peace of Europe generally, can hardly be doubted; and, in view of all the circumstances, it may justly be regarded as one of the most important events of recent history.

The agreement between England and Russia has exclusive reference to the interests of the two countries in China, the preamble stating that both countries undertake to uphold—that is, presumably, not themselves to violate—the integrity and independence of China; and the Note—for that is the form which the agreement takes—providing against any clashing of interests in respect of railway development in Manchuria, on the one hand, or the valley of the Yangtse Kiang, on the other. It also settles the long pending dispute regarding the Niu-Chwang railway.

Referring to the understanding in his speech at the Royal Academy banquet, Lord Salisbury spoke in very guarded language. "We have signed," he said, "a gratifying agreement with the Russian Government. I do not wish to exaggerate its extent; but, in view of the relations which, during the last half century, have from time to time prevailed between this country and that most important Empire, I think it is a matter of congratulation that we have come to an agreement with respect to affairs in China which *to a certain extent* will, I think, prevent any likelihood of any collision between our interests or our objects for the future."

In estimating the importance of the agreement, the reflection will be apt to occur to students of recent history, that Russia has always shown herself equally ready to make promises and to break them.

The following is the text of the Notes exchanged between the two Powers, in connexion with which it should be added that the Russian Government has already set up a claim that under the explanatory clause with which the second of the notes concludes, it is entitled to extend its railway system to Peking, a claim which certainly ought to have been foreseen, but which is regarded with anything but complacence by public opinion in England.

SIR C. SCOTT TO COUNT MURAVIEFF.

The undersigned British Ambassador duly authorised to that effect has the honour to make the following declaration to
 His Excellency Count Muravieff, Russian Minister for Foreign

Great Britain and Russia, animated by a sincere desire to avoid in China all cause of conflict on questions where their interests meet, and taking into consideration the economic and geographical gravitations of certain parts of that Empire, have agreed as follows :—

1. Great Britain engages not to seek for her own account, or on behalf of British subjects, or of others, any railway concession to the North of the Great Wall of China, and not to obstruct, directly or indirectly, applications for railway concerns in that region supported by the Russian Government.

2. Russia, on her part, engages not to seek for her own account, or on behalf of Russian subjects, or of others, any railway concessions on the basin of the Yang-tse, and not to obstruct, directly or indirectly, applications for railway concessions in that region supported by the British Government.

The two contracting parties, having nowise in view to infringe in any way the sovereign rights of China or existing Treaties, will not fail to communicate to the Chinese Government the present arrangement, which, by averting all cause of complications between them, is of a nature to consolidate peace in the Far East, and to serve the primordial interests of China herself.

(Signed) CHARLES S. SCOTT.

St. Petersburg, April 28, 1899.

The Russian Note to Sir Charles Scott, signed by Count Muravieff, "duly authorised to that effect," is identical in terms with that of the British Note, the only difference being that paragraphs 1 and 2 are therein simply transposed.

The second Identical Note, subscribed to by both the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg and Count Muravieff, the Russian Minister, is an addendum to the other, and is in the following terms :—

In order to complete the Notes exchanged this day respecting the partition of spheres for concessions for the construction and working of railways in China, it has been agreed to record in the present additional Note the agreement arrived at with regard to the line Shanghai-kuan-Neu-chang, for the construction of which a loan has been already contracted by the Chinese Government with the Shanghai-Hongkong Bank, acting on behalf of the British and Chinese Corporation.

The general arrangement established by the above-mentioned Notes is not to infringe in any way the rights acquired under the said Loan Contract, and the Chinese Government is at liberty to appoint both an English Engineer and a European Accountant to supervise the construction of the line in question and the expenditure of the money appropriated to it. But it remains well understood that this fact cannot be taken as

constituting a right of property or foreign control, and that the line in question is to remain a Chinese line, subject to the control of the Chinese Government, and cannot be mortgaged or alienated to a non-Chinese Company.

As regards the branch line from Siapheichan to Sinminting, in addition to the aforesaid restrictions, it has been agreed that it is to be constructed by China herself, who may permit European, not necessarily British, Engineers to, periodically inspect it and to verify and certify that the works are being properly executed.

The present special agreement is naturally not to interfere in any way with the right of the Russian Government to support, if it thinks fit, applications of Russian subjects or establishments for concessions for railways which, starting from the main Manchurian line in a south-westerly direction, would traverse the region in which the Chinese line terminating at Sinminting and Neu-chang is to be constructed.

In his Report to the Court of Cassation on the monstrous Dreyfus Case, M. Ballot-Beaupré, pronounced strongly in favour of revision, insisting on the innocence of the prisoner and maintaining that all the evidence pointed to Major Esterhazy as the real culprit. This view which has been unanimously confirmed by the Court, is said to be based largely on the discovery of two letters from Esterhazy written on peculiar paper, identical with that of the famous *bordereau*. The course of the enquiry has been marked by astounding revelations pointing clearly to a deliberate conspiracy, supported by forgery, to which high military officers were parties, for the purpose of obtaining and upholding the conviction of Dreyfus. It is not too much to say that these revelations have revolted the conscience of Europe, or to anticipate that they will create a strong re-action against the spirit of militarism of which they are a natural though not a necessary outcome. The sensation created by them in Paris is said to be immense. That the anti-Revisionists should have taken refuge in a charge of bribery against M. Beaupré, is only in keeping with their attitude throughout the affair, and it must be regretfully said, with the temper of the mass of the French people in the face of calamity, or what they believe to be calamity. The decision has, however, on the whole, been received with equanimity by the country at large.

Among the sensational incidents of the case has been the publication in the *Times* of a statement of Major Esterhazy in which he declares that he forged the *bordereau* by order of Colonel Sandherr, and that he is in possession of documents which would ruin the honour of certain French Generals.

The Peace Conference held its first sitting at the Hague on the 18th ultimo when the business seems to have been confined to speech-making of a congratulatory and complimentary character. At the second meeting, Baron de Staal, the President and Representative of the Czar, invited the Conference to deal first with the questions of mediation and arbitration; then with that of the humanisation of war, and lastly with that of the reduction of national armaments. Compared with the anticipations which the Czar's original manifesto was calculated to foster, the programme of the Conference is a modest one. That it will do much to diminish the risk of war is hardly to be hoped, since, owing to the fact that matters which are the subject of extant treaties are excluded from its purview, it can do very little towards removing potential causes of quarrel. That it may effect something in the direction of humanising the methods of war is possible enough; but experience shows that, so far from diminishing the chances of war, its humanisation tends rather to increase them.

The representative of Great Britain is understood to have submitted a scheme for a permanent tribunal of arbitration; but the assent of Germany thereto is doubtful.

The Committee of the Conference, it may be noted by the way, have condemned the use of the Dum-Dum bullet.

Next to the conclusion of the Anglo-French and Anglo-Russian agreements, the most interesting event in international politics is, perhaps, the announcement made by Queen Christina at the opening of the Spanish Cortes, that her Government had signed a convention ceding the Caroline and Pellew Islands and the Ladrões to Germany, subject to their ratification. It has since transpired that the consideration for this cession is the payment of a million sterling by Germany, who, at the same time, agrees to allow Spain to retain a coaling station at each group of islands and to defend these stations in the event of war.

Except for strategical purposes, the islands probably possess very little value.

There has been a recrudescence of the Uitlander agitation in the Transvaal owing, as is alleged, to the failure of President Krüger to redeem his recent promises of redress, especially in the matter of the franchise. An interview has been held between President Krüger and Sir Alfred Milner, for the purpose of discussing the situation, but no satisfactory arrangement has been arrived at.

In the Sudan all active opposition to the British occupation appears to be at an end; our rule is popular with the people of the country, and the Mahdi, who is reported to be short of provisions, has made no further advance.

The mutiny in Uganda has, to all appearances, received its quietus, in the defeat of Kabarega and his capture, together with that of Mwanga, by Lieut.-Colonel Evatt.

The opposition to the American occupation in the Philippines still continues, though there are signs that it is dying out. The insurgents have made proposals for a Conference to arrange terms of peace; and the United States Government is understood to have offered them a government similar to that established in Cuba, pending the settlement of the country.

After a certain amount of fighting, in the course of which an Anglo-American force was ambuscaded, and suffered some loss, the disturbances in Samoa have led to the assumption of the Provisional Government by a joint English, American and German Commission.

Owing to the opposition of the Chinese in Kowloon, where the Hong-Kong regiment was fired on by Chinese soldiers, the city has been occupied by a British force, and it is expected that the clause of the Convention reserving the sovereignty of the place to China will be abrogated.

The plague has broken out in Alexandria, where eight persons, including four Europeans, are reported to have been attacked up to date.

The House of Commons re-assembled on the 10th April; and on the 13th the Chancellor of the Exchequer made his Budget Statement, which showed that, deducting the amount that went to Local Taxation account, the exchequer had received during the past year £108,336,000, as compared with £106,614,000 in 1897, and with an estimate of £107,110,000, while the net expenditure had been £108,150,000, including £7,577,000 set aside for reduction of debt. For the current year the estimated expenditure was £112,927,000, an increase of £6,098,000 over that estimated for the past year, and the estimated revenue £110,287,000, which, as it stood, would leave a deficit of £2,640,000. He proposed, however, to reduce the fixed debt charge from £25,000,000 to £23,000,000 on account of interest and reduction combined, and at the same time to prolong the Savings Bank Annuities, and to replace the book debt of 13 millions to the Savings Banks and the 15 millions of Consols held for them by terminable annuities of £746,000 and £870,000 respectively. The result of these changes would be that the expenditure to be provided would be reduced to £110,927,000, out of which £5,815,000 would be for reduction of debt, and the deficit, on the basis of existing taxation, would be £640,000. To balance the account and leave a reasonable margin, he, therefore, further proposed to impose two new stamp duties and raise the stamp duty on Companies' Capital, which would provide £450,000; and to

raise the existing wine duties and impose a duty of 3s. a gallon on still wines imported in bottle, which would produce £420,000. The total new taxation proposed thus amounted to £870,000, so that the above-mentioned deficit of £640,000 would be converted into a surplus of £230,000.

After some discussion in the course of which Sir H. Fowler and Sir W. Harcourt strongly condemned the policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to the debt, the formal Resolutions sanctioning the proposed changes were agreed to, and the Budget Bill was finally passed after the Chancellor of the Exchequer had consented to some reduction of the new wine duties.

Among the more exciting events, if we should not say the only exciting event, of the session was the debate on the second reading of the Church Discipline Bill, moved by Mr. McArthur. The Bill, which followed on a Resolution of the House condemning lawlessness in the Church and carried by 200 to 14,¹ proposed to create a long list of new offences, to do away with the Episcopal veto, and to substitute deprivation for imprisonment as a punishment. It was rejected in a crowded House, and in the presence of a large number of "strangers," by a majority of 310 to 156, in favour of a Government amendment, moved by the Attorney General, to the effect "that this House, while not prepared to accept a measure which creates fresh offences and ignores the authority of the Bishops in maintaining the discipline of the Church, is of opinion that, if the efforts now being made by the Archbishops and Bishops to secure the due obedience of the clergy are not speedily effectual, further legislation will be required to maintain the observance of the existing laws of Church and realm."

Among other business of the session, it may be noted that the Government of London Bill has made good progress in Committee; a motion by Mr. Dillon to repeal the Irish Crimes Bill has been rejected by 224 to 141, and a new Committee has been appointed to consider the Old Age Pensions question, while in the House of Lords, the London Water Bill has been read a third time, and the Money Lending Bill has passed through Committee.

The Bill passed by the Imperial Legislature in this country empowering the Government to impose countervailing duties on bounty-fed foreign sugar, has been the subject of a series of interpellations in the House of Commons, in which Mr. James M. Maclean has taken a leading part; and Sir Henry Fowler has given notice of his intention to move for an address to the Crown asking Her Majesty to disallow the Bill.

The second instalment of the evidence taken by the Indian

Currency Commission has been published ; and it is understood that the draft Report of the Commission will be presented by Sir Henry Fowler at its next sitting.

In India, the latter portion of the period under review, which has been generally uneventful, has been marked by a gratifying subsidence of the Plague. In the Madras Presidency the disease has almost entirely disappeared ; in Bombay the number of cases has fallen to below twenty daily ; in Calcutta the few cases that continue to occur are sporadic, and the disease has shown little tendency to spread beyond the limits of the town, and, though it still lingers in part of the Punjab, it is making but little, if any, headway.

The select Committee on the Calcutta Municipal Act Amendment Bill have submitted their Report, which leaves the principle and the constitutional provisions of the measure practically unaltered, but recommends important modifications in details.

An important set of new Mining Rules has been issued by the Government of India, which, if they still leave something to be desired, are, on the whole, of a liberal and reasonable character, and may be expected to lead to a considerable development of mining enterprise in India.

The scheme for the reorganization of the subordinate Medical Department has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State and is to take effect from the 1st April last. Resolutions have also been issued by the Government of India reorganising the graded list of the Political Department, and prescribing new regulations for the use of Church of England Churches in India for the services of other denominations. Under these Rules the Churches provided by Government may, with the consent of the Bishop of the Diocese, be used for their respective services by Scotch Chaplains on the regular Establishment and by Presbyterian and Wesleyan Ministers officiating with the troops. The hours for the purpose are to be fixed by the Bishop of the Diocese or the Chaplain of the Church concerned. The care of the Church, its furniture, and expenditure, and also the control of the Church establishment are to remain exclusively in the hands of the Chaplain. The Bishop of the Diocese may withdraw his assent to the use of any Church by other denominations at any time he thinks fit. On the other hand, in cases of dissatisfaction, the Senior Chaplain of the Church of Scotland, or the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Church, may refer, through the General Commanding the District, to the Lieutenant-General of the Command, with a view to an arrangement with the Bishop of the Diocese ; further reference, in case of disagreement, being permissible to the Metropolitan for final decision.

Among the few noteworthy events of the quarter has been a wholesale strike of the signallers on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. The traffic of the Company's lines was seriously impeded for some days ; but the administration behaved with praiseworthy firmness, as well as energy ; with the help of soldier signallers, new recruits and men lent by other lines, the more urgent messages were provided for, and, though it was necessary, for a time, to close the railway telegraph service against the general public, matters have now been restored to their normal condition, and the strikers have very properly been dismissed the Company's service.

The death sentences passed upon Wasadew Chapekar and Mahadev Ranade for the murders of the Dravids, and on Balakrishna Chapekar for the murder of Mr. Ayerst, at Poona, have been carried out.

The meteorological conditions are so far reported to be not altogether favourable to the advance of the monsoon ; but any forecast of the prospect would at present be premature, and the agricultural outlook is otherwise generally favourable.

The Obituary of the Quarter includes the names of Mlle. Rosa Bonheur ; Mr. Birket Foster ; Dr. G. W. Leitner ; Sir Mouier Monier-Williams ; Professor O. C. Marsh ; General Bingham ; Mr. T. E. Ellis, M. P. ; the Baroness de Hirsch ; Miss Rose Leclercq ; Surgeon-Major G. C. Wallich ; the Hon. James Service ; Sir William Roberts, M. D., F. R. S. ; Lady Frere, General Sir John Field, K. C. B. ; General Sir C. G. Arbuthnot ; Sir James Wright, C. B. ; Lt.-General Sir H. LeGeyt Bruce, K.C.B. ; the Duchess of Marlborough ; Sir J. R. Mowbray ; Col. Sir Robert Warburton, K. C. I. E., C. S. I. ; Mr. Jabez Hogg ; Mr. Joseph Wolf ; the Duke of Beaufort ; General R. D. Ardagh ; Dr. Buchner ; Baron de Malortie and Senor Castelar.

June 15, 1899.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1897-98. Calcutta :
Bengal Secretariat Press, 1899.

THE General Summary of the Bengal Administration Report seems to be so styled on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle. It contains a fairly complete account in brief of distinctive features in the administration work of the year, but in other respects it gives very little idea of the contents of the Report ; and in respect of such important matters as the state of the public health, outturn of crops, and course of prices, it is practically a blank. It is a little irritating to the publicist desirous of economising time and effort to be put off, under the head of "agriculture," for example, with a paragraph about the opening of agricultural classes in connection with the Sibpur Engineering College, and another regarding legislation for the regulation of mines in India, or, under that of sanitation, with four paragraphs confined entirely to a description of a scheme of re-organisation of the department which was not carried out ; a statement of certain official opinions submitted on the subject of pollution of the river Hooghly ; an announcement that a certain sum was granted for the improvement of the sanitary condition of the Terai and the establishment of certain out-door dispensaries, and an account of the special precautions adopted against Plague.

Turning to the body of the Report, we learn that the season was generally very favourable to the growth of the *Bhadon* crops ; very favourable, on the whole, to that of the *aman* paddy, and favourable to that of all kinds of *rabi* crops ; that the cultivated area, in the case of all these classes of crops, showed a more or less considerable increase as compared with the previous year, and that the average outturn, was, in the case of the *bhadon* about 16½ annas, in that of the *aman* paddy no less than 18 annas, and in that of the *rabi* 15½ annas. Prices of food grains generally fell considerably after the winter harvest, and the year was comparatively healthy, the number of deaths registered falling from 2,428,830 to 2,341,632, the fall being specially marked in the case of cholera and fever, and the proportion from 34·17 to 32·94 per thousand of population. On the other hand, the number of births registered continued to reflect the depression caused by the late distress, and fell from 2,703,486 to 2,625,844, the proportion to population being 36·94 per thousand only, as compared with 38·03 per thousand in 1869-97.

In marked contrast with the general improvement in the public health, the death-rate in Calcutta rose from 35.7 to 36.1, and that in Howrah from 37.34 to 38.49 per thousand, rates which, though somewhat lower than those for 1895, are higher than any recorded during the previous six years, and this in spite of a great diminution in the mortality from cholera.

It is unsatisfactory to note that, in spite of the generally favourable economic conditions of the year, the number of offences reported rose from 351,882 to 355,448, and that of offences against property alone from 113,551 to 122,703. It is to be noted, too, that, while there was a considerable increase in the number of persons tried, there was a small decrease in the percentage of convictions to persons. A satisfactory feature of the criminal administration of the year was a large diminution in the number of murders, and an entire cessation of murders from gun-shot, in the notorious district of Backergunge.

General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1897-98,
Calcutta : Bengal Secretariat Press. 1898.

THE main feature in the educational history of the year in the Lower Provinces is a falling off of 3,334 in the number of schools, and 49,960 in that of pupils, following upon similar losses of 3,006 and 3,227 respectively in the previous year. In the case of public schools, which showed a diminution of 2,540, this falling off was almost entirely confined to lower primary education ; but in that of private institutions, which suffered a loss of 794 schools and 6,259 pupils, it was common to all classes. The general result is attributed, no doubt rightly, to the distress that prevailed during the year owing to high prices. In spite of it, it should be added, the figures for the past ten years show a net gain of 1,031 schools and 170,879 pupils, or at the average rate of 103 schools and 17,087 pupils a year ; and it is estimated that 27.8 per cent. of the total number of boys, and 1.9 per cent. of that of girls, of school-going age are at present receiving some sort of education. It is noteworthy that the percentage of Hindu pupils to the total number increased by 1.2, while that of Mohammedan pupils showed a decrease of 1 per cent. and that of pupils of other religions remained practically stationary.

In the case of university education, the number of students in Government Colleges advanced from 1,632 to 1,665, as compared with 1,685 in 1894 ; the number of students of aided Colleges fell from 1,459 to 1,370, as compared with 1,291 in 1894, and that of students of unaided Colleges rose from 3,236 to 3,363, which compares with 3,192 in 1894. In the First Arts Examination 1,256 candidates passed, out of a total number of

2,724 from all Colleges, the percentage of successes being 55 in the case of Government, 49 in that of aided, 43 in that unaided, and 46 in that of all Colleges. The latter figure compares with a percentage of 48 in the previous year.

At the B. A. Examination, 12 candidates obtained 1st class Honours, 77 2nd class, and 302 passed, or a total of 391 passes, out of 1,588 candidates, the percentages of total successes being 35·2; 22·3, and 19·9 in the cases of Government, aided and unaided, Colleges, respectively. At the M. A. Examination 83 candidates passed out of a total number of 172, as compared with 83 out of a total of 194 in the previous year. The largest number of candidates (86) was for the Degree in English. In other languages there were only five candidates, none of whom took up Latin or Persian, and only one Greek and one Arabic. Five candidates took up History, 18 Philosophy, 35 Mathematics, 7 Chemistry, 15 Physics, and only 1 Botany.

Detailed Report of an Archæological tour with the Buner Field Force. By M. A. Stein Ph D, Principal Oriental College, Lahore. Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1898.

A Military expedition is not the most favourable opportunity for an archæological tour. The movements of the explorer are necessarily too much restricted by military considerations, and the strained relations between the invaders and the people of the country add sensibly to the difficulty of procuring information. As the tract from which Major Deane's puzzling inscriptions in unknown characters had been obtained, Buner, hitherto inaccessible to European investigators, was expected to yield important results. As a matter of fact, it yielded to Dr. Stein little or nothing of special interest. Even the inscriptions previously copied could not be traced, and, as far as we can discover, only one sculptured monument of small importance was unearthed. The Report is eked out with some interesting notes on the ancient topography of the country; but it may be doubted whether the remainder of it is worth the cost of printing the 52 pp. which it covers, though, needless to say, this is due to no lack of zeal or effort on the part of Dr. Stein.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

A Manual of Ethics. By JOHN S. MACKENZIE, M.A., Professor of Logic and Philosophy in the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire ; formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (The University Tutorial Series.) Third Edition. Revised, enlarged, and in part re-written. London. W. B. Clive, University Correspondence College Press.

THE stand-point adopted by the writer of this, on the whole, admirable manual of Ethics is that of the school of idealism founded by Kant, and developed by Hegel, Green and others. The ethical *ought*, from this point of view, is "the voice of the true self within us, passing judgment upon the self as it appears in its incomplete development. Conscience, from this point of view, may be said to be simply the sense that we are not *ourselves* ; and the voice of duty is the voice that says, 'to thine own self be true.'" In other words, "Ethics has for its primary function to bring out the significance of the moral life *in relation to the ideal that is involved in it*, and this process is at the same time a criticism of it."

To this it should be added, by way of explanation, that the true self here intended is the social self—that self which finds its realisation in the relations of persons to one another. "It embodies itself in literature and art, in the laws of a State, in the counsels of perfection which societies gradually form for themselves." The supreme end of the individual will thus be the perfecting, not simply of his own life, but also of that of the society to which he belongs. We must, in short, negate the *merely* individual self, and realise ourselves by sacrificing ourselves ; and, the more fully we do this, the nearer we approach to a universal point of view. "No doubt, it must always be necessary for us to take more thought for our own individual development than for that of anyone else ; because each one best understands his own individual needs, and has the best means of working out his own nature to its perfection. But when this is done from the point of view of the whole, it is no longer properly to be described as Egoism. It is self-realisation, but it is self-realisation for the sake of the whole."

The realisation of the true self, or, as it is otherwise put, consistency with the true self, being the end to be aimed at, according to the view adopted by the author of the Manual, it remains to see what position happiness occupies in the system. "The error in the conception of happiness, as formerly interpreted, lay in its being thought of simply as the gratification of each single desire, or of the greatest possible sum of desires. *We now see that the end is to be found rather*

in the systematisation of desire. Now, happiness in the true sense of the word, as distinguished from transient pleasures, consists just in the consciousness of the realisation of such a systematic content. It is the form of feeling which accompanies the harmonious adjustment of the various elements in our lives with an ideal unity. Happiness, therefore, in this sense, though not, properly speaking, the end at which we aim, is an inseparable and essential element in its attainment."

Mr. Mackenzie's destructive criticism of rival theories is, throughout, very able; but it is not always convincing. It seems to us to be specially unconvincing in the case of his treatment of Hedonism. With special reference, for instance, to the universalistic form of the theory, he says: "Mill's argument is stated thus in the fourth chapter of his *Utilitarianism*: 'No reason can be given why the general happiness is desirable, except that each person, so far as he believes it to be attainable, desires his own happiness. This, however, being a fact, we have not only all the proof which the case admits of, but all which it is possible to require, that happiness is a good: that each person's happiness is a good to that person, and the general happiness, therefore, a good to the aggregate of persons. He then goes on to argue that happiness is the only good, on the ground that we have already noticed—*viz.*, that to desire a thing and to find it pleasant are but two ways of expressing the same thing. Now it would be difficult to collect in a short space so many fallacies as are here committed. We have already noticed the confusion in the last point, due to the ambiguity in the word 'pleasure.' We have also noticed the confusion with regard to the meaning of the word 'desirable,' which vitiates the first part of the argument. It only remains to notice the fallacy involved in the inference that 'the general happiness is a good to the aggregate of all persons.' The fallacy is that which is known in logic as 'the fallacy of composition.' It is inferred that, because my pleasures are a good to me, yours to you, his to him, and so on, therefore, my pleasures+your pleasures+his pleasures are a good to me+you+him. *It is forgotten that neither the pleasures nor the persons are capable of being made into an aggregate.* It is as if we should argue that because each one of a hundred soldiers is six feet high, therefore the whole company is six hundred feet high."

The objection is subtle, though not new, and the distinction on which it is based is a real one. But there is an obvious answer to it. It is quite true that the pleasures of A, B and C cannot be added together so as to form an aggregate. But it is quite unnecessary that they should form an aggregate in order to make the greatest good of the greatest number a valid criterion of rightness of conduct; if for no other reason,

because it is mathematically obvious that the conditions which result in the greatest good of the greatest number are those which afford the best chance of good to each individual of the group. It is remarkable that Mill, in dealing with the question, should have overlooked this, or, if he recognised it, that he should not have explicitly stated it.

Maha-Bharata. The Epic of Ancient India Condensed into English Verse. By Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., with an Introduction by The Right Honourable F. Max Müller. Twelve photogravures from original illustrations designed from Indian sources by E Stuart Hardy, London: J. M. Dent & Co, 1899.

MR. Max Müller, in his scholarly and interesting introduction, describes this version "of the Mahabharata, as a kind of photographic representation, a snap-shot, as it were, of the old poem." The description is not strictly accurate, as much of the detail which a photographer would reproduce is omitted in the condensed version. Nevertheless, as regards the effect produced on the reader, it is apt enough. Regarded as English verse, Mr. Dutt's rendering is not only correct and dignified, but maintains on the whole a more than respectable poetic level, while there is little or nothing in it to stamp it as the production of a foreigner. Of the illustrations we cannot speak quite so favourably. They strike us as, on the whole, lacking in dignity, and are suggestive, in some cases, of a lower state of civilisation than we are accustomed to associate with the period of the Mahabharata in Aryavarta. The artist, it may be added, has been distinctly more successful with his female than with his male figures. Altogether the production is to be warmly welcomed and may be expected to increase the sympathy of England for the people of India.

The Game and the Candle. By RHODA BROUGHTON, Macmillan & Co.

WHATEVER may be Miss Rhoda Broughton's faults it cannot be laid to her charge that she mystifies her readers by excess of plot or by a multiplicity of characters. Nor does she, as a rule, put any undue strain on the attention or intellect of those who go to her for amusement by putting before them abstruse social problems or knotty controversial questions. *The Game and the Candle* is slight in the extreme and the moral it is intended to convey would seem to be that it is worse than folly to give up everything and everybody for what the writer describes as a "huge egotism of passion;" and that an absorbing interest in one person—even though that person is not oneself—is nothing better than a "gigantic selfishness." And looked at from a worldly and cynical point of

view, a short-sighted form of selfishness to boot. The heroin plays the game for all she is worth and it proves to be not worth the merest rushlight. It is perhaps late in the day to criticise Rhoda Broughton's style which has remained practically unaltered and unaffected by criticism for thirty odd years, and will probably resist all assaults upon it to the end, so we will content ourselves with saying that what change there is in it does not appear to us to be for the better. Awkwardness of construction and slangy abbreviations abound and help to make an otherwise harmless, if somewhat painful, tale. In one trifling detail we are a little puzzled. Was the name of Mrs. Etherage's husband Henry or Robert?

Off the High Road. By ELEANOR PRICE, Macmillan & Co., London.

Off the High Road is a very simply told romance which will doubtless be appreciated by those who read a book merely for the story and are not over particular as to probability or distinction of style. A young and beautiful girl, wishing to escape from the tyranny of her guardians, disappears suddenly from her home and advertises in a provincial newspaper for a hiding place.

"Will any kind people, living off the high road, receive a person in serious trouble, homeless and friendless? Address, M., 50, Crossway Street, Manningham," is the form of her appeal.

Contrary, we think, to probability but necessarily, for the purposes of the tale good Samaritans are at once found ready to rush off, and without investigation take the stranger in. Needless perhaps to say, she, proves an angel unawares and a more or less interesting little love story is spun out of very simple threads. There is nothing in the style to raise it above the common place, but it may be recommended as a perfectly wholesome and unobjectionable book which not even, the most prudish of mothers need fear to put into the hands of her daughters.

Poetical Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson, Poet Laureate (Globe Edition). London: Macmillan & Co., Limited; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899.

ALL that need be said of this edition of the works of the late Laureate is that it is not only a marvel of cheapness, but is very accurately and clearly printed, under which circumstances it would be hardly reasonable to complain that it is not wholly free from the defects of the first of these qualities, inasmuch as it is printed on paper which, though otherwise of excellent quality, is very thin.

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of propping by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON

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ART. I—THE GREAT ANARCHY.

Stories of the Adventurers in Native Service, in India, during the latter half of the 18th Century.

(Continued from No. 217—July 1899)

CHAPTER VIII.

THOMAS now underwent a wholesome change of view and conduct. About 1797 he had established himself at Hânsi. Here, as he told Colonel Francklin, his biographer, was his capital, where he rebuilt the decayed city-walls and strengthened the defences of the Fort. "As it (the town) had been long deserted, at first I found difficulty in providing inhabitants; but by degrees I selected between five and six thousand persons to whom I allowed every lawful indulgence. I established a mint, and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country :* as from the commencement of my career at Jhajhar I had resolved to establish an independency, I employed workmen and artificers of all kinds. . . . cast my own artillery, commenced making muskets, matchlocks, and powder; and in short made the best preparations for carrying on a defensive and offensive war."

This lucid explanation is enough to show that the Irish tai's occasional deviations into a predatory life were no more than a small part of his permanent programme, and we must now consider the whilom free-lance in the position of an independent potentate. For a brief moment he had realised a mighty dream.

His prudence was not always active; but at this moment it was reconcilable with his ambition. The field in Hindustan being occupied by stronger powers, the Sailor-Raja naturally

* The present writer has met with one of these rupees. It is a small thick coin, bearing the title of the Emperor Shah Alam, in Persian, with a capital T in English character. He also conversed with one of Thomas's native officers at Hânsi in 1853, who spoke of the drinking bouts of his old commander, but otherwise with admiration. Thomas was familiarly called "Sahib Bahadur."

looked in the direction of the Punjab. "I wished," he said afterwards, "to put myself in a capacity of attempting the conquest of the Punjab; and aspired to the honour of planting the British standard on the banks of the Attock." This might have been done then perhaps, had Thomas been left alone; but there was a young man growing up among the Sikhs whose efforts were to make the task another matter when it came to be done, half a century later.*

Another mark of superior judgment which our adventurer showed at this period was his care for his men, whom he not only paid well, but encouraged by providing a pension-fund for the benefit of their families. Rs. 40,000 were to be set aside for this purpose yearly; and as long as his powers lasted the pensions were punctually paid. At the same time he strenuously bore down all opposition to his authority, which by the first month of 1799 had been firmly consolidated in the greater part of the Province. He had, indeed, now, a real and respectable power. Besides his older acquisitions to the Southward—of which the revenues sufficed for the maintenance of his army and the connected arsenals, he derived from his new lands the net income of two hundred and fifty estates (formerly rated at about 170,000 pounds sterling, p. a.) which he hoped to raise to their old prosperity. His military force was not, at this time, very large; he had, however, three well-drilled battalions under British, or Indo-British, commanders, with fourteen guns and his *Khas Risala* of Pathan cavalry. With this contingent he presently took the field in a new attack upon the Jaipur State, by the invitation of his old master's nephew—the Marhatta Wital Rao—acting, however, not as a subordinate, but as an independent ally, and stipulating for compensation in specie. After some temporary successes the invaders learned that the Raja was marching against them in person, at the head of 40,000 Rajputs inured to battle. The Marhatta pronounced for an immediate retreat; but Thomas persuaded him to remain; and they took possession of the walled town of Fatephur, on the N.-W. of the State, in the sandy neighbourhood of the great desert. No trees were to be seen save the thorny acacia known in those regions as *Babool*, but of this Thomas found enough, when cut down and shaped, to make an *abattis* in front of the town, by the wall of which his rear was sufficiently protected.

Hardly had he completed his works when the hostile columns began to appear. The adventurer was now in a grave posi-

* This, of course, was Runjeet Singh, of the Shukarcharia clan, born at Gujranwala about 1780, and now chieftain by the recent death of his father. (v. "Ranjit Singh," by Sir Lepel Griffin *Rulers of India*. Oxford 1894.

tion, confronted by an overwhelming force, supported by an ally of proved incompetence, and dependent for deliverance on his own skill and the courage of a comparatively small force of mercenaries. On the third day after their arrival the enemy made a formal commencement of the leaguer, on which Thomas resolved on an offensive defence ; making a sortie against a body of 7,000 Rajputs who had advanced to cut off his water-supply by seizing on the neighbouring wells. Taking two battalions and eight field-pieces escorted by a few troopers, Thomas repulsed the Rajputs ; but next morning was set upon by the main body of their army. His Marhatta allies proved useless ; but the result of his unaided efforts is a lesson to all good soldiers, not, indeed, to despise any enemy, but neither to despair because they are outnumbered.

The foe advanced in three divisions ; one to threaten the camp, a second to occupy the town ; the third to try conclusions with the followers of the audacious white man. This last force might well appear to menace destruction to the isolated invaders ; being composed of no less than ten regular battalions, with the marksmen of the Raja's body-guard, a quantity of cavalry and twenty-two guns. The General-in-Chief led them on against Thomas and his two thousand, who took post on a sand-hill to await the attack while their comrades defended the town. In the end Thomas not only repulsed the attack, but was able to hasten to the aid of the garrison : while that small but well commanded force, observing his approach, came out in rear of the enemy, who were thus placed between two fires. Thrown into confusion and having no good leaders, the vast multitude broke and scattered in flight. Some time was now lost in persuading the Marhatta horse to take up the pursuit, and Thomas admits the loss of two twenty-four pounders which—according to his narrative—remained embedded in the sand. He adds that he lost 300 of his men and a European officer ; and he had ultimately to retire from the invaded territory along with his pusillanimous ally.

This strange account rests on the unsupported evidence of George Thomas ; but, seeing that his narrative is always confirmed by independent testimony in all cases where such is forthcoming, it may be received with some confidence here. Certain it is that he was not hindered in retiring with the bulk of his force, and that neither then nor on any subsequent occasion did the Raja of Jaipur ever venture on attacking him ; while Thomas had sustained so little damage that, before the summer was over, he had made another raid into the western sands, and harried the possessions of the Raja of

Bikanir who had co-operated with his brother of Jaipur during the late campaign. From him Thomas extorted a handsome indemnity and next turned his attention to his former enemies the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs.

While thus employed he received an invitation from Ambaji, one of Sindhia's generals, to join in an expedition against Udaipur. His share in this brief campaign was probably of little importance ; but the period is so far noticeable that it showed the beginnings of unruliness among the troops, and of hostility on the part of General Perron. Against his own men Thomas displayed a resolute firmness ; and, when ordered, in the name of Sindhia, to separate from Ambaji, he replied that he was acting under that General and could take orders from no one else.

At the end of 1799 Thomas was once more back at Hānsi ; but before the end of the cold weather set off to renew his campaign against the Sikhs of Jhind and Patiala. In this as he reports, " I had been more successful than I could possibly expect when I took the field with a force of 5,000 men and thirty-six pieces of cannon. I lost, in killed, wounded, and disabled, nearly one-third of my men, but the enemy lost 5,000. I realised nearly two *lakhs* (say £20,000) and was to receive an additional *lakh* for the hostages."

Thomas was now at his zenith ; " Dictator " as he said, " in all the countries south of the Sutlej." Had his prudence and his diplomatic ability equalled his other gifts, he might have altered the history of Hindustan. As often happens, he was his own worst enemy, offending his neighbours by reckless raiding, utterly defying authority, when exercised by a Frenchman, and (occasionally at least) immoderate in the use of intoxicating liquor. That he, about this time, threw away good cards is very plain. At the beginning of the year 1800, the last French danger to the British Government on the Southern side of India had been removed by the fall of " Citizen Tippoo " ; while in Hindustan Daulat Rao Sindhia was looking askance at General Perron, and divided between hatred of the English and fear of Jaswant Rao Holkar, who was adopting a very threatening attitude. In this conjuncture Thomas opened negotiations with Holkar, and with Begum Sombre, at the same time employing the friendly intervention of Capt. E. V. White, with a view to obtain the support of Lord Wellesley in Calcutta.

George, who had left Ireland many years before ninety-eight, was always a loyal British subject. He now proposed to occupy the Punjab and place his conquests at the disposal of the Government. " I have nothing in view," he said, " but the welfare of my country and King. I shall be sorry

to see my conquests fall to the Marhattas ; I wish to give them to my King." Certain necessary conditions being assumed, there was nothing unreasonable in the aspiration. The Sikhs, as has been shown, were not then the formidable opponents they were to become under Runjeet Singh, with a new generation of foreign officers ; and Thomas easily beat them whenever he wished. In the opinion of Major L. F. Smith (a writer to whom we are constantly driven in studying the time) the substitution of Thomas for Perron at the head of Sindhia's Regulars needed little more than a word from Wellesley ; and Smith further assures us that the officers of British birth, of whom he was one, would have rallied round Thomas whatever the French might do. But it would seem that the importance of all this was not known to the Calcutta authorities : or, perhaps, the Peace of Amiens was already dawning on the vision of far-seeing statesmen. Wellesley was in somewhat intimate correspondence with the Prime Minister, and knew that First Consul Bonaparte had reasons for desiring to be on good terms with our nation. About this time the Consul wrote, with this design, his famous letter to George III. ; and, though duly snubbed by the Cabinet of St. James's, he was only waiting for events which ere long opened the way to a Treaty. In these circumstances the Governor-General may well have refrained from interference with French influence in Upper India. The abstinence proved a mistake ; British interference, postponed for a couple of years, found the Marhattas in greater strength and union, the friendly Sailor-Raja of Hariana being no longer there to help.

These matters will fall to be dealt with more appropriately in the account of General Perron. Here we have only to notice their effect on the waning strength of George Thomas. Early in 1801 he nerved himself for a final effort, augmenting his little army and leading the best and largest portion to a fresh foray against the Sikhs, in the course of which he got within four marches of Lahore. Here he received intelligence that Perron had conducted a raid into Hariana—instigated, it is thought, by an appeal for aid from the Punjab. With habitual decision Thomas at once set his face homewards : beating off the Sikh horse who tried to harass his retreat, and rushing his men along at the rate of from 30 to 40 miles a day, he reached Hansi, only to find the birds of prey flown. Perron, discovering that he had made a mistake in attacking Thomas with so small a force, retired rapidly to Delhi ; but he presently returned with reinforcements. In August 1801 the two armies drew near to each other at Bahadurgurh, about 15 miles west of Delhi.

Perron, with or without an honest desire for peace, invited negotiation: and Major L. F. Smith was sent to the Hânsi camp to invite George to discuss preliminaries in a personal interview with the French General. With our knowledge of the warm patriotism of the one and the almost certain ambition of the other, we are prepared for a failure. "Mr. Perron and himself," Thomas afterwards said, "being subjects of two nations then in a state of hostility, it was impossible that they should act in concert. . . he was moreover convinced that, as a Frenchman, Mr. Perron would always be prepared to misrepresent his actions." He was willing, he added, to take part in the conduct of operations anywhere; but he informed Sindhia that he could act only under an Asiatic General. When at length persuaded to go to Perron's camp, he took an escort of his best men, and went as he said, "prepared to observe the greatest circumspection in the interview."

A discussion conducted in this spirit was not likely to end well. Perron stated his ultimatum with due plain-speaking,

Thomas was required to surrender the lands of Jhajhar, to enter the service on a fixed monthly salary and to detach immediately four battalions to assist Sindhia against Holkar, who had just driven the army of Sindhia before him and taken his city of Ujam. The spirit of Thomas would not brook these terms, specious as they appeared; he was in friendly communication with Holkar; he suspected Sindhia of treachery; he was determined not to serve under Perron. He accordingly, to use his own language, "without further discussion abruptly broke up the conference and marched away in disgust." He retired to Hansi, while Perron went back to his own headquarters at Alighurh, leaving the campaign to be conducted by an officer of his own nation, Major Louis Bernard Burquin. Thomas had thrown a garrison into his fort of Georgegurh commanded by a native officer named Shatab Khan: and Perron was able to put pressure on this person by reason of his being an Alighurh man, the members of whose family were at Perron's disposal. Another diplomatic move was made by inciting the Sikhs to invade the North of the district: Begum Sombre, too, was called upon for a contingent, which she sent; and reinforcements were ordered up from Agra. Surrounded by this ring of fire, our poor adventurer was brought to bay; he sent an earnest appeal to Holkar, and, without waiting for a reply, betook himself to the North, as if to encounter the Sikhs, but in reality hoping to draw off the attention of the invaders from Hansi, where he had his stores and where his family were residing. In this move he was successful; Smith's brother being left with a detachment to

watch Georgegurh, the bulk of the army marched towards Jhind in pursuit of Thomas. That adventurer now doubled back unperceived by the enemy, reached Georgegurh by marching 70 miles in two days, and put Smith to flight with a loss of 700 men, besides arms, baggage and ammunition. This was about the 26th of September; next day Bourquin's cavalry reached Bui, a village near Georgegurh, and at once made a reconnaissance of Thomas' camp. They found it skilfully pitched, with a village on the left, the Fort on the right, and the front defended by a line of sand heaps, probably artificial. The rear was also partly protected by another village.

On the afternoon of the 29th, Bourquin came up, and, without affording the men time to rest, immediately ordered an attack supported by the fire of thirty-five guns. But the shot fell into the sand; the wearied infantry could do little; twenty-five of Bourquin's tumbrils were exploded by shot from the enemy's batteries: then two battalions sallied from the works under an officer named Hopkins, who "delivered a volley as if they had been at a review," and charged Bourquin's left with such vigour that it gave way in complete confusion. Night separated the combatants; in the morning a truce was made and it appeared that out of eight thousand men the assailants had lost one half in killed and wounded, amongst them being four European officers, one of whom was the younger Smith, who was shot dead: Thomas had only lost 700 men, but amongst them was Captain Hopkins, whose leg had been broken by a round shot during the last charge and who died of his hurt a few days later. Hopkins was the son of a British officer who had left him to make his way in the world encumbered with the charge of an unmarried sister: and Thomas in this hour of his own distress found means to send Miss Hopkins Rs. 2,000 for her present necessities with a promise of more should more be required.

But he was himself now almost at his last resources. Shatab Khan, the commandant of the fort, treacherously fired all the fodder; and Thomas, apparently losing his wonted courage, remained inactive for a month, hoping, perhaps, that help might come from Holkar.* Finally, finding himself deserted, with neither forage for the cattle, nor food for the men, with treachery undermining his resources, and his men deserting daily, Thomas conceived the enterprise of cutting his way through the investing enemies and throwing himself into Hansi there to make a final stand.

Accordingly, at nine o'clock on the evening of the 10th

* Skinner thought that Thomas had a long bout of drink and consequent incapacity at this period.

November, accompanied by his two remaining Christian officers, Harsey and Birch, escorted by his body-guard and mounted on a fine Persian horse, Thomas burst out, drove off a party of the enemy who tried to intercept him, and, making a considerable circuit, reached Hansi next day. It is pleasant to know that the animal who carried his master 120 miles in 24 hours was nobly provided for and long survived in the stable of Sir F. Hamilton Bart, the British resident at Benares. The soldiers left in camp laid down their arms with loud lamentations; and, refusing to serve another leader, departed for their own homes by permission of the victors.

Arrived at his Capital, Thomas prepared for its defence, casting guns and strengthening the fortifications. On the 21st November, the besiegers opened their trenches; and, after some sorties, effected an entry within the walls, though the citadel still held out: Thomas had still his two faithful friends, and about 1,700 men; and with these he continued his resistance; in these operations the leader of the Begum's contingent was killed.* At daybreak on the 3rd December three strong columns advanced to the assault; and Thomas came out to meet them, clothed in chain armour like a Crusader of old. The enemy, as we are informed by James Skinner, who was among them, lost 1,600 men; and he adds, "We had to come several times to hand-to-hand fighting." Skinner's brother attacked Thomas sword in hand, but could make no impression on his coat-of-mail. The Homeric conflict was renewed next morning, and trenches were traced within two hundred yards of the fort: but all in vain, the cannon buried harmless shot in the earthen ramparts, and the fearless George, roused from his drunkenness, drove off the assailants with the old cheerful daring. Recourse was now had to mining; and Bouquin openly boasted that he was suborning the soldiers of the garrison and was determined to take Thomas alive or dead.

All the gallantry of the Irishman was ultimately to no purpose. He had stood against enormous odds for three months, defying the power that was paramount in Hindustan; and, after such exertions, and inflicting on the enemy a loss of so many thousands of brave men, he was more outmatched than ever. Revenge must be had for this, thought Bourquin, with the ferocity of a low and selfish nature. The desperate defence of an untenable position is an offence against the laws of war; and Bouquin had cause for anger without the generosity of nature which would mitigate such feeling in a

* This was Captain Bernier, mentioned above as one of the witnesses of the Begum's marriage with Levassault. Skinner calls him "Mr. Bunnear."

better man. He openly boasted to his officers of the terrible example that he would make of Thomas. The conversation occurred at tiffin in the mess-tent; and the English and East Indians present were shocked at the Frenchman's cruelty of purpose. The meal being over and the *mollia tempora fandi* coming on, these worthy fellows united in respectful but firm remonstrance; to which Bourquin so far yielded as to consent to an attempt being made to get Thomas to yield without delay or further fighting. Despite the loss of his brother, Major Smith undertook the task, and repaired to the Fort under a flag of truce. The forlorn adventurer was open to reason, as his friendly visitor pointed out to him the cruelty of demanding further sacrifices from his followers in pursuing what was so easily seen to be a vain resistance. "Considering," said Thomas, "that I had entirely lost my party, and with it the hope of *at present* subduing the Sikhs and powers in the French interest; that I had no expectation of succour from any quarter . . . in this situation I agreed to evacuate the Fort."

He surrendered on the first day of the year 1802, being allowed to retain his arms, his family, and his private property, consisting of three lakhs of Rupees in specie, shawls, and jewellery. Honourable terms were also given to the garrison. What was to be the next phase was still unsettled when Thomas decided the question by an outbreak which did not admit of any hope of permanent relations. The officers had made him an honorary member of their mess, where he indulged freely in those habits of conviviality for which he was always known. One evening, after the cloth had been removed, the talk turned on politics. The Peace of Amiens was not yet concluded; and Perron was engaging—as we shall see presently—in schemes for opposing the English in Hindustan. "Well!" cried Bourquin, lifting his glass, "here's success to General Perron!" Most of the guests ignored the invitation; but that was not enough for the Irishman, who considered it a deliberate insult. Drawing his sword, he rushed at Bourquin, who had only time to escape from the mess-tent and hide himself in that devoted to the Zenana. Thomas, in his elation, sprang upon the table, where he stood waving his sword and calling on all, with peals of hoarse laughter, to bear witness that he made "the Frenchman run like a jackal."* Being presently pacified, he allowed himself to be conducted to his quarters. On arriving at the Fort they found a sentry standing at the gate, and were—as a matter of course—challenged with "who goes there?" "Sahib Bahadur," answered Thomas, giving the name he was wont to give to his own men on such

* The words are recorded by Skinner, who was present.

occasions. On the sentinel answering that this was not the watch-word, the fallen hero's passion returned. "Not know Sahib Bahadur?" he cried, and cut the poor fellow down. It was necessary to get rid of such a guest, and the next day Thomas, with his family and his goods, was escorted to Sardhana by the still friendly Smith.

Thomas had married a French dependent of the Begum's whose Christian name was Marie; and she had borne him three sons and a daughter. These—mother and children—he left in charge of the Begum, with a lakh of rupees for their support. The Begum—it should be remembered—was deeply indebted to him, for money and for yet more; she accepted the charge and acquitted herself fairly well. An oil painting of one of the sons—John—which used to hang in the palace at Sardhana, is evidence that the subject was a man of some consideration; his dress is handsome, though it is in the Asiatic style. The daughter is believed to have been married at Delhi and to have left issue there; and the grand-daughter of another son, James, was living at Agra a few years back, the wife of a Mr. Martin. A third son was in the service of Runjeet Singh, and rose to the command of a regiment.

Thomas went on to Anoopshahar, whence he was, by order of the British Government, put on board a boat accompanied by Captain Francklin*—afterwards known as the author of several works on Indian history. As they floated slowly down the river, Thomas dictated to Francklin a quantity of information about the Sikhs and other tribes among or against whom he had been engaged; and—what is perhaps more generally interesting now—gave him an account of his life to which we have been indebted for most of our present record. But the change of life was too much for the adventurer's constitution, tried as it had been; and he died at Berhampore on the 22nd of August, being—as was supposed—in his 46th year.

That George Thomas was the equal of General de Boigne is not to be maintained: the latter having been a military officer of good education, while poor George was but a Tipperary bog-trotter, trained on board a man of war such as is described by Smollett. To have risen in a few years from the fore-castle to be the leader of an army, and the ruler of a State, must needs have demanded no common gifts and exertions; and we may perhaps see in this forgotten loafer more than the germs of a true hero. He was tall and handsome, a master of the Hindustani idiom, and able to read and write Persian; and, what is much more, he was true, generous, and brave;

* "Francklin, Capt. G., Military Memoir of G. Thomas, 4to. Calcutta: 1803." There is a similar book on Jas. Skinner by Fraser (London 1851). Both are in the India Office.

and a patriotic subject of that Empire of which his native island was, is, and must be, a most important part.

CHAPTER IX.

Although the Begum Sombre was not strictly a "European adventurer," the remainder of her story may be worth a brief notice for the light that it throws on the condition of the part of the country where her field lay, and on the nature of the steps by which it was gradually delivered from anarchy. By the time of the flying visit paid by Thomas at Sardhana, the Begum's affairs had become finally settled, and she had no more serious troubles to the day of her death nearly forty years later. The worst of Sombre's followers were dead, dismissed or subdued. M. Saleur was in command; Bernier, his Lieutenant, had been killed, leading the contingent against Harsi, as mentioned in the preceding chapter. Stephen Aloysius had died in 1801, and his tomb is still to be seen in the desecrated Church at Agra, he left a daughter married in due time to a Mr. Dyce, a somewhat dour Scotchman who was bailiff of the landed estates. These were managed on a hard but efficient system under which the tillers of predial land were little better than predial serfs, from whom the management endeavoured to recover the whole of the net produce. Nevertheless, the little Principality, with outlying dependencies beyond the river Jumna, was a real oasis of plenty among the war-worn tracts by which it was surrounded; and the fear of falling from bad to worse kept the peasantry from their natural means of defence—escape to other lands. Contemporary history shows that the dread of losing labourers was, in those evil days, the only check upon rapine and mistule. "The sword rose, the hind fell;" the field turned to forest; and the miserable husbandmen flocked to the Begum's territory as to a land of milk and honey. In 1840, when the Princess was dead, the Revenue Board at Agra sent an officer to make the necessary fiscal arrangements; and this gentleman reported that in those favoured regions the rates of assessment on the cultivation averaged about one-third higher than what prevailed in the adjoining territory under British rule. Now, the British demand of those days professed to be two-thirds of the net rental; what then could have been left to the Begum's tenants? As the British territory had been at peace for more than a generation the Begum had not latterly enjoyed her old advantages, and an observer of a few years earlier noted that, under her administration, cultivators were compelled to

till the land by the presence of soldiers with fixed bayonets ; luckily there were no native newspapers ! The first act of the Board, after receiving the report of the settlement-officer, was at once to reduce the total assessment of the province from nearly *seven lakhs* (Rs. 691 388) to a little over *five*. Further, a whole schedule of miscellanies was abolished, including export and import dues, taxes on " animals ; wearing apparel, cloth of every description ; sugar-cane, spices and all other produce. . . . transfer of lands and houses and sugar-works. . . the latter very high." The result of all this had been that, for the last few years, many of the estates had been deserted and thrown on the hands of the management, who made the best they could out of them by means of hired labour. The population rapidly returned under the new régime (*Reports of Revenue Settlement*, N.-W. P, Vol. I.). *

Meanwhile our modern Deborah judged her people and increased her store. When, in 1803, Generals Arthur Wellesley and Stevenson marched into the Deccan, Sindhia was assisted by the Begum's contingent under Saleur, and they formed the guard of camp and baggage during the sanguinary struggle of Asai. On the 1st of November Lake overcame the forces of Ambaji at Laswari, and the Begum had to mend her ways. Seated once more in the historic palanquin in which she had already seen and suffered, she was borne into the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, arriving in the evening, just as dinner was over. On the announcement of her arrival Lake rose hastily and went to the door of his tent in time to catch her Highness in the act of descending from the litter. In the excitement of the movement the General gave his visitor a hearty kiss : " See, my friends ! " cried the self-possessed lady to her attendants, " how the Padie receives his penitent child." The red coat and face of this jolly father of the Church militant are said to have struck the bystanders with astonishment ; but the result was a complete success. The Begum was confirmed in a life-tenure of all her possessions, Lake having plenary political authority from the Calcutta Government ; and for the rest of her days she maintained a sort of mediatised rule in her provincial capital. Of her palace and church—still standing—, as of the unhappy offspring of the harsh land-agent and the grand-daughter of Sombre who became the Begum's heir, of all the litigation that followed, this is hardly the place to speak. Our business is with the state of Hindustan before the British occupation ; and those who desire an entertaining summary of this later history of Sardhana may be referred to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 280, p p. 459 f. f.

* For a few further particulars regarding Sardhana, see Appendix.

Hitherto we have been dealing with cases of persons more or less known by name; but many of the adventurers, especially towards the end, when they became numerous, have been seldom heard of beyond the circle of their own families and by the few who have had the opportunity of coming across the record of Louis Ferdinand Smith. Of such was a gifted but unfortunate gentleman, Joseph Harvey Bellasis.

Bellasis was an English gentleman who began life as an officer in the Bengal Engineers. About the year 1796—the period of the Mutiny against Sir John Shore—there was great and general discontent among the officers of the Bengal Army; and Bellasis, with others, saw fit to leave the service. Being yet young, he sought for fortune in the employ of one of the quarrelsome “native Powers” who were then contesting the miserable remains of the once mighty Moghul Empire. He had seen instances of men, with advantages inferior to his own, rising to place and wealth in such employment; and he willingly engaged in the army of Daulat Rao Sindhia, under the immediate command of Ambaji Ainglia, often mentioned in these pages. He is reported by Smith to have possessed all the gifts of “undaunted courage, an excellent education, an elegant person, great activity of body and energy of mind; he was generous, open, candid and affable, an accomplished scholar and finished gentleman, of fascinating address.”

How all these talents failed to command success the remainder of the short story will show, though without fully disclosing the reasons of failure. Ambaji was, perhaps, an unfortunate selection in the first introduction of a high-class Englishman entering the native service; being always noted for his opposition to the British interest and for his leanings towards Jaswant Rao Holkar, who was the rival of his master, Sindhia: he was also a man of parsimonious habit, and—apparently—of restless and imprudent nature. At the beginning of their relations he was favourable to the new recruit, whom he commissioned to raise four battalions. These, according to Smith, would have made the finest body of its size in Hindustan, if only Ambaji had provided properly for their equipment and pay. Bellasis felt indignation at his chief's parsimony, which he did not attempt to conceal; apparently his character was deficient in the suppleness which must have been requisite in a foreigner anxious to win his way with an Asiatic master. A little later—about three years before the end of the century—another Mahratta General, Lakwa Dada, was engaging himself in the cause of the “Bais,” widows of the great Mahadaji (whom the new Sindhia was ungratefully plundering and persecuting) and was suddenly dismissed from

the service and driven into active revolt. All Central India was instantly in commotion, the rebel chief occupying several places of strength between Bundelkund and the Gwalior territory, in alliance with the Rājā of Dittia, a petty State bordering on Jhansi. Ambaji proceeded to attack the confederates with several brigades of regular troops, that newly raised by Bellasis being one. The latter was presently ordered to capture Lohar, a very strong position about midway between Gwalior and Kalpi, and he performed the service—which was full of risk and difficulty—as well as if he had been leading the best troops in the world rather than a raw levy. But he met with an ungenerous return: the assault of Lohar had severely tried his men; and before they had rested, or even buried their dead, Bellasis was bid to march them off to the storm of another fortress. Then he lost patience, and addressed a strong remonstrance to the Mahratta General, pointing out that his compliance with the order would leave him without the means of providing for the care of his wounded, while there was no urgent necessity such as might demand the sacrifice. The enraged barbarian expelled him from the camp, and confiscated his property. The young officer was now sorely tried: he had lost his position in the British army, and found himself stranded in a foreign land without the means of subsistence. In this extremity Bellasis had to swallow his pride and sue for reinstatement, as he was a useful, however touchy, servant, his prayer was granted, and he was presently employed in a new campaign in the same part of the country. This was a war which Daulat Rao had begun against his own overlord, the Peshwa or president of the Mahratta confederacy. In December 1799, it fell to the lot of Bellasis to lead another forlorn hope; Perron had now returned to the scene of war, and found it necessary to assault a place called Saunda, in the Dittia state; Bellasis headed the stormers with his wonted valour, and was shot through the head while mounting the breach. "Thus," writes the chronicler, "fell poor Bellasis; an ornament to society and an honour to his nation . . . whose heart was pure and unsullied and his sentiments noble and refined."

A very different destiny awaited men of far less merit. Two of the later Bugadiers of Sindhia's Regulars were John Hessing and Brownrigg: of the latter we need only note that, like Skinner, Shepherd, Gardner, and Sutherland, he refused to join Perron against the British, and all were ultimately provided with posts or pensions from the Company. The short career of the Hessings—father and son—demands a more detailed notice.

Hessing was a native of the Netherlands who had served

in the army of the first Sindhia ever since it was reorganised in 1789: he is described by Smith as "a good, benevolent man and a brave officer." This guarded estimate accords with the facts of the case. In 1790—about the time of the campaign against Ismail Khan, and when Hessing could not have been many months in the service, he incurred Boigne's displeasure to such a degree that he was obliged to leave his battalion. Sindhia, however, took compassion on him and gave him the command of the Khas Risala—his personal troop or body-guard—on his last visit to Poona in the early part of the year 1792. Hessing, however, does not seem to have remained long there; for, about the time of Sindhia's death, in 1794, he had made over the body-guard to his son and gone to Agra where he was put in charge of the Fort. But, in 1801, when the force had been augmented, the son took part in the important campaign against Holkar the fortunes of which vacillated so remarkably in Malwa. Perron, for some reason, did not take the command on this occasion; perhaps did not like to be far while Thomas was being hunted down. Old Hessing, indeed, never returned to active service, and soon after died in his bed at Agra. So the commonplace Dutchman, who had actually lived, in that stormy time, the life of the fabled Halcyon, died before the evil days came; and while the bones of the brilliant Bellasis lay in an unmarked ditch of Bundelkund, his remains were interred in the finest monument of the whole Cemetery, fashioned in the likeness of the famous Taj Mahal and decorated by a fulsome epitaph as long as a leading article in a newspaper. Such are the ironies of Fate.

The younger Hessing was a man of crude tactics and doubtful military merit. At a great battle under the walls of Ujain, Holkar broke his line with cavalry charges, and killed or wounded—mainly killed—four-fifths of the force. Of the European officers, Captains Graham, Urquhart, and Macpherson, with four subalterns, were all slain in defending the guns; Major Deridon, Captain Duprat, and Lt. Humpherstone were made prisoners; Hessing owed his safety to the speed of his horse. His next appearance was in 1803, after the death of his father; he raised the 5th brigade at Agra; and was in charge of his father's old post, the command of the Fort. When Lake arrived in October, Hessing, Sutherland and five other European officers, were put in arrest by the men, who feared their complicity with the British; but had to ask their intervention a few days later when they perceived the impossibility of making any further defence. By the mediation of these gentlemen terms were obtained from Lake, and they were provided for at the peace which shortly ensued. Of young Hessing no further record is requisite. Sutherland died

some years later, and was buried at Muttra—where his tomb is to be seen still—; Deidon founded a family of farmers, whose present representatives have preserved few signs of their European origin. Brownrigg, a gallant young fellow of approved and exceptional merit, was employed by the British Government, and ere long killed in action, at Sirsa, fighting the lawless Bhatti population, who had been only partially tamed by Thomas.

Just at the end of its existence the trained force underwent some serious trials. The war against the Dattia Raja, in whose country Bellasis lost his life, does not seem to have proved deadly to any other of the adventurers. On the 5th of January, 1800, after Perron had gone to the theatre of operations and assumed the command, a severe action took place, in which the chief command, under Perron, was held by James Shepherd, to whom Ambaji had given the charge of five battalions. The action was undecisive; and it was not until May 31d that the overthrow of the confederates could be completed. On that day the infantry on their side was led by an Irish officer named William Henry Tone, brother to the well-known Theobald Wolfe Tone, and himself a man of character and acquirements. Poor old Lakwa Dada was at last driven from the field, and shortly after died of disappointment and fatigue, at a sacred shrine where he had taken sanctuary. The Dattia Raja was killed fighting; and Colonel Tone—though he got off on that occasion—met a soldier's death next year, in the employ of Holkar. Col. Shephard soon after joined the British, and was given service in the Bundelkund Police.

Of others of Holkar's officers a more tragic record than that of Tone remains to be told. Jaswant Rao, though a gallant leader of horse, was a brutal enough barbarian by nature and made himself worse by habitual intemperance; which finally ruined his reason and abridged his days. On the Chevalier du Drenec leaving his service to join his French compatriots in the service of Sindhia, Holkar promoted an Anglo-Indian named Vickers to the command of the vacant brigade; two others being under the charge of two excellent officers, named Harding and Armstrong. On the 25th of October, 1802, after the failure of Thomas—with whom he would have been wiser to have co-operated—Holkar was brought to bay at Indore; Sindhia's army being commanded by Sutherland. The battle was fiercely fought. Mindful of the success of the year before at Ujain, Holkar made a vigorous charge of horse, covered by a general cannonade. The enemy's line was broken, but formed again under protection of a counter-charge by Sindhia's body-guard. While the

fight was thus swaying to and fro, in medieval fashion, among the horsemen, Vickers advanced in line and routed six of Sindhia's battalions; but Captain Dawes opposed his further progress at the head of four of the old regiments, Boigne's veterans, whose backs no enemy had ever seen. Then Holkar brought up his cavalry once more and renewed the carnage. Dawes and two subalterns were slain, the European gunners were cut down in their batteries, where Holker himself got two wounds, and Major Harding was killed at his side. Of the loss in rank-and-file there is no record.

It is sad to follow the fate of the gallant Vickers. After Lake's victories in 1803 Holkar felt that he might well be the next object of attack; and, indeed, he knew that he deserved it. One of his officers had the luck to be absent; but Col. Vickers (with Major Dodd, Major Ryan, and four subalterns) was beheaded by the truculent chief on their boldly telling him that they could not bear arms against the British.

Of the brothers Smith a very few more words will be sufficient. The younger, as we saw, was killed at the beginning of the deplorable campaign of 1801; a campaign that need never have been fought but for the ambition of Perron and the too ardent patriotism of George Thomas. The elder was pensioned after the conquest in 1803-4, and appears to have settled in Calcutta, perhaps on the staff of *The Telegraph*, a paper published in that city; finally bringing out the little volume to which we have been so much indebted.

A few French and other Continental officers remain to be just named. Colonel Duprat commanded the 8th. brigade in 1798, his claim to promotion arising from a nefarious attempt to capture the Bais-widows of Mahadaji—from the camp of Amrit Rao, on the 7th June of the preceding year. Colonel Drugeon, however, was more successful in a later enterprise of the same sort; when Amrit, accepting Sindhia's assurances that molestation should cease, ventured to return to Poona (which he had left in not unnatural alarm). As the son of Raghunath Rao—whom the English called Ragoba—Armit Rao should have known by experience both what Sindhia was and what was the general value of Marhatta faith; yet he trusted; perhaps however he could not help himself. Drugeon watched his opportunity. One morning, on the last day of a great Moslem festival, he and his men came down to the river side at Kirki—opposite to where Amrit was encamped with the ladies—affecting to be interested in the religious solemnities and the movements of the crowd. Suddenly, a screen of his men removing from the bank, the gallant Colonel opened fire on the defenceless ladies' tents from 25 field-pieces; and before the guard could rally from their first natural consterna-

tion, Dugeon was across the river and made the occupants of the tents prisoners.* In November of the following year the Colonel was put in charge of the palace and person of the blind Emperor at Delhi; Duprat succeeding to his brigade. In 1799 he was, for some unexplained reason, replaced by Sutherland, not usually a favourite with Perron, who—as will be observed more fully hereafter—seldom confided in a man of British blood. Perron soon afterwards removed Sutherland from this command, which he bestowed on Col. Pohlmann, who was either an Alsatian or a German. (Of this officer we only know further that he had a command in the Deccan when it was invaded by Stevenson and Arthur Wellesley; and, with the support of another brigade under Col. Duprat, he made that stiff resistance at Asai that cost the future Duke of Wellington a full third of his army; one regiment (the 74th. foot) losing no less than 17 officers, with 400 rank and file and non-commissioned; out of ten staff-officers only two escaped, and the young General's horse was shot dead under him, while his orderly-trooper was killed at his side. What became of Pohlmann eventually is not recorded, most of the French officers appear to have returned to Europe, but Pohlmann and Shephard appear to have taken service under the East India Company.

CHAPTER X.

The chief interest of the concluding portion of the story arises out of the character and conduct of the officer to whom Daulat Rao made over the command of the Regulars and the civil charge of the territory assigned for their support on the departure of Gen. de Boigne.

This, it may be remembered, was that Pierre Guillel (the ex-mariner) who has been so often mentioned in these pages under his assumed style of "Gen. Perron." Extending, as his career does, over the whole period of the existence of the regular corps in Sindhia's service, it is no less interesting from the picture that it shows of an attempt at civil administration in pre-British Hindustan. His career exhibits an epitome, so to speak, of the extremes of fortune which an adventurer of those days might be liable, and of the peculiar trials awaiting a man of uncultivated character who at last the luck turned and successes came which he had done little to earn and for the enjoyment of which he had made preparation. An average man he was, of mediocre ability, without either exceptional merit or conspicuous failure. When Boigne was leaving India, on that indefinite fulfil-

from which he was never to return, he probably acquiesced in the appointment of his successor, estimating him as "a man of plain sense; no talent, but a brave soldier."

But the General's last advice to Sindhia betrayed anxiety as to Perron's political wisdom and judgment; for he enjoined upon him "never to offend the British; and to discharge his troops sooner than risk a war with that nation."

Like Thomas, the new Commander-in-chief of the Regulars—as has been stated above—was originally a seaman. Coming out with Suffren, he deserted his ship and entered the service as a client of Mr. Sangster, the Scots gun-founder, who procured him a post as Sergeant of infantry; and his further promotion was due to his industry, which—according to Smith—was such that "his pleasures arose from the labours of his profession." A resolute plodder, like this, will always prosper until he comes to be confronted by extraordinary circumstances demanding originality and resource. By great activity and constant attention to duty Perron won his way to the good graces of his superiors; and when old Mahadaji went to Poona in 1792, his time for distinction was at hand.

Sindhia had always been on good terms with Ahalia Bai, the wise and good Lady of Indore, who was faithfully served by Tukaji Holkar as long as she was able to control that rough soldier's zeal. But in 1792 the Bai was breaking, the inroads of devotional austerities anticipating the ravages of years and natural decay. Tukaji now began to assume a freer hand: the absence of Sindhia seemed to give an opportunity: he summoned Ismail Beg to his standard and marched towards Ujain. The readiness of the Beg to fight with any one and in any cause we have already noticed, and thus, on the present summons, he joined the widow of Najaf Kuli in her sand-locked fortress of Kanaund. This was a stronghold walled with clay, a material almost impervious to round-shot; and the nature of the surrounding soil rendered the approach of heavy guns peculiarly difficult: the water-supply, moreover, was deficient; and the shrubs of the surrounding jungle did not afford timber of sufficient scantling to be of use to the works of a besieging army. When Perron was sent against the place, the widow and her champion reckoned upon holding out long enough to allow of Tukaji coming up to the relief. But they were doomed to swift and bitter disappointment. First the Beg tried a sortie, which was driven back with loss. Then the valiant widow-sister of the infamous Pathan Nawab Gholam Kadir—was killed by a shell upon the rampart. Finally, the men lost confidence in themselves and in the Moghul Jonah who had brought the tempest on them, and began to talk of throwing him overboard. Ismail, getting wind of these mutterings,

resolved to be beforehand with his would-be sacrificers, and opened secret negotiations with Perron, who willingly entertained them. The place was surrendered on promise of life to the Beg and his garrison; and the unlucky *sabreur* was removed to the Fort at Agra, where he remained a prisoner until his death, about four years later; living an idle life, on a pension of Rs. 600 per mensem, in the house on the highest and most ventilated part of the place, still known as the house of Dan Sah Jat. He was the greatest cavalry-leader of the day; and had never been beaten until he encountered the Regulars.*

When Gen. de Boigne returned to Aligurh, after defeating the main body of the invaders at Lahkairi, he received orders to send to Sindhia, at Poona, a force of 10,000 of these trained foot-soldiers, which was accordingly despatched under the command of Col. Perron. And when the General returned to Europe in the beginning of 1796, nothing was more natural than that the man who had held the heights above Kardla against his compatriot, the famous Michel Raymond, should be selected to fill the vacancy. The force at the time comprised only three brigades, and Col. Trimont, who commanded one, died at this very juncture. The choice lay, therefore, between Perron and the remaining brigadier. This was Col. Sutherland, never a favourite: if any question was made it should have been left to be decided by the retiring General de Boigne, who, however, does not appear to have moved in behalf of the French sailor. The results, in any case, were momentous; involving the fate of Sindhia's dynasty and of the British Empire in Hindustan.

When Perron assumed the command the force was far from being so large as it ultimately became, though probably of sufficient strength for all reasonable uses, trained and inured to battle as it was. Each of the three brigades was composed of ten battalions, each battalion consisting of 400 rank-and-file, 94 non-commissioned officers, and with a Major, Captain, and one or two subalterns of European origin. With each were 50 guns, of various calibres for field-service and siege, the Bombardiers being Christians and the gunners natives of India. The Artillery was guarded by 200 disciplined horsemen. Later, Perron added a fourth brigade, similarly constituted; in 1803, when war was imminent, a fifth was raised; at the time of Lake's advance from Cawnpore, the brigades of Begum Sombre and Filose brought the whole strength of the force to a total of close on 60,000. There was also a corps of 500 light horse

* But see extracts in the Appendix, from which we may perhaps conclude that the General would have preferred to be succeeded by Col. Sutherland.

attached to each brigade, with a contingent of irregular infantry carrying match-locks fitted with bayonets, a compromise between musketeers and pike-men which was very unlikely to be useful against disciplined troops. The pay of the Christian officers was high; the salary of a Lt-Colonel, serving north of the Nerbada river, was Rs. 2,000 per mensem, besides table-allowance; when sent into the Deccan, an increase of 50 per cent. was made to all. Perron had, in addition to the pay of his rank as General-in-Chief, sufficient profit out of the assigned lands to bring his income up to 60,000 Rupees monthly!

Nothing is recorded as to military affairs for the next twelvemonth. Perron lived at the Sahib-Bagh, the house formerly occupied by his predecessor, midway between the City of Koil and the Fort of Aligurh; while Col. du Drenec, who had come over from Holkar's service to that of Sindhia, and now commanded one of the Brigades, was provided with quarters in a house in cantonments mentioned above as having been afterwards used as the Court-house of the British District-Judge. As to civil administration, the General did as much or as little as he thought good. At Delhi, and within the narrow circle of the sphere now left to the Emperor, his authority was paramount; but his attention was mainly directed to the collection of the revenue, which was done by the help of large bodies of troops kept at hand for the purpose. In the event of recalcitrance on the part of landholders a severe and early example was made, the village of the defaulters being plundered and burned, with bloodshed on occasion. In the department of justice matters were no less summary; there were no rules of procedure, and neither Hindu nor Moslem law was properly administered. The suppression of crime was treated as a negligible quantity; the *Amil*, or District-Officer, sent in his report on any special case and acted according to such orders as Perron chose to send back. As to rating, there was nothing of what has since been known as "Settlement;" the *Amil* took what he could get from the landholder; and the landholder got what he could from the cultivators. No one dared to build a handsome masonry-house, nor to celebrate a showy wedding, or give silver bracelets or bangles to the females of his family; such things would have only served as signals to the chartered spoiler. The well-to-do accumulated what they dared not enjoy, to bury it under ground and often die without having revealed the place of its concealment. Every considerable landholder had a sort of unauthorised custom-house—*Sayar-Chabootra*, as it was called—where goods *in transitu* paid such dues as the rural magnate deemed available. Besides this, they derived an income from shares in the booty taken

from travellers by professional gangs of gypsies and predatory tribes. The obstacles to commerce were completed by disbanded soldiers who roamed the country. What wonder if—as in the days of the ancient Deborah—"the highways were unoccupied, the travellers walked through byways."*

Perron, as one of our authorities has suggested, thought chiefly of making hay while the sun shone: nevertheless it must be confessed that he was prepared to uphold his position. In 1798, finding a Mahratta rival in possession of the palace at Delhi and the person of the Emperor, he sent a force under his compatriot, Col. Pédron, who sat down before the gates and attempted to effect the reduction by a mixture of bribery and blockade. For the time being he was unsuccessful. When at last the garrison yielded, the charge of the palace and its august inmate was confided to Col. Dugeon, the gallant conqueror of the old ladies at Kirki; but hardly was this accomplished when a Marhatta competitor re-appeared at Agra. Perron marched against him in person and took the town; but the castle held out for two months, and its capture cost him 400 men; the trouble did not end until April 1799. Then followed the campaign against Lakwa Dada and the Dattia Raja of which a brief mention was made in the notice of the ill-starred Bellasis. In all these affairs Perron acquitted himself as an energetic commander; and by the end of the year—like the late Marshall O'Donnell—had not an enemy left, unless he failed to conciliate his brother blue-jacket in Haryana. George Thomas, in an independent position, appeared a harbinger of British power; and British power the Frenchman was determined to oppose. This feeling probably accounts for the obstinacy with which Thomas was pursued, as we have already seen, and finally abolished.

By the beginning of 1802 Perron had attained his zenith: having brought all Hindustan into subjection, and being regarded as Suzerain by every chief Hindu or Moslem—from the Sutlej to the Narbada. His demeanour now underwent a total change. Surrounded by flatterers, he gave all his confidence to Frenchmen, like Louis Bourquin; and actually sent one Descartes as Envoy to France to seek the alliance of First-Consul Bonaparte, then on the eve of breaking the short-lived Peace of Amiens.

Some conception of the enormous resources at this time acquired by the whilom man-of-war's man may be formed by reference to a schedule of his possessions annexed to the

* These facts have been gleaned from various sources; such as the letters of an "old Resident of Aligurh" in ancient files of the Delhi Gazette, and the Statistical Report of Messrs. J. R. Hutchinson and J. W. Sherer, Roorkee, 1856.

Treaty made with Sindhia at the termination of the war; from which we find that he held, personally, in addition to the 27 districts formerly assigned to Gen. de Boigne, seven fiefs (*Jaigirs*) which he had "resumed" from their former owners; four large estates (*Talukas*) in the Delhi territory; twelve Districts west of the river Jumna; the *Soobah* of Saharunpore; yielding—under the crude management then subsisting—an aggregate of over four millions of Rupees; say £400,000 per annum. This vast domain was his own absolute property, over and above his official pay and allowances, and the whole patronage of 4 brigades.

Of the manner in which Perron conducted this important part of his administration we obtain a glimpse in the *Memoirs* of James Skinner to which frequent reference has been made in these pages. Of all his Brigadiers only one—Col. Sutherland—appears to have been of British blood, from first to last; and this although a very considerable portion of the battalion-officers, captains, and subalterns were of that class. His selections, dictated partly by natural feelings, were not the less unhappy in the end. "Every low Frenchman," writes the indignant Smith, "every low Frenchman that he advanced, with outrage to others, repaid his unjust preference with ingratitude." That the partiality was not due to superior prowess on the part of the General's compatriots, is shown by the "singular fact that, though there were as many French and Foreign officers in Sindhia's service as (there were) British subjects, only four French officers were killed during twenty years' service, while fifteen British officers fell in the same space of time."* Bourquin—the champion against Thomas—is a signal instance of a bad choice. Bourquin's inefficiency in that campaign has already been observed: and it led to his temporary supersession as a brigade-commander; but his reinstatement was not long retarded, for in the same year he had charge of the 3rd brigade; and at the beginning of 1803 he was at Delhi, with a second brigade; and on that occasion displayed another side of his versatile baseness. For, fancying that Perron's influence with Sindhia was on the wane, Bourquin availed himself of the opportunity to enter into a conspiracy for ousting the General and obtaining his place. With this object he plundered Perron's banker of nine lakhs of Rupees; seduced the men from their allegiance, besieged Col. Drugeon in the palace, and wrote to the native officers of the cavalry at

* It must be borne in mind that this testimony though not wilfully dishonest—is from a prejudiced source. Perron may have been injudicious in the disposal of his patronage; but he was a brave and loyal Frenchman, as will be seen hereafter.

Aligurh offering them large rewards for the arrest or assassination of Gen. Perron.

But we need not anticipate. For the moment we will leave the General in the command of the army and of the country, with the enjoyment of his vast property and of an apparently impregnable position. His vain struggles and rapid collapse will form the subject of a new chapter.

(To be continued.)

ART. II.—THE TURKISH SIPAHIS AND JANISSARIES.

Etat Militaire Ottoman depuis la Fondation de l'Empire jusqu'à nos jours. Par S. E. Ahmad Javâd Pâshâ. Constantinople.

FIVE centuries ago Turkey was the greatest military Power in Europe, indeed in the whole world. The Ottoman Empire occupied, in the south-eastern quarter of the European Continent, a similar position to that which the Russian Empire to-day occupies in the north-eastern, a mighty armed and aggressive power, threatening to overwhelm by the mere weight of numbers the rising civilization of the west. The march of the Turk from conquest to conquest was a swift and sure triumphal progress. From the time his horse-tail standards were first displayed on Asia's plains, barely two centuries had elapsed before the Roman Empire of the east, the Christian Kingdoms of Bulgaria, Bosnia, Servia and Hungary, and the military monarchy of the Mamelukes in Egypt had fallen before his conquering arms ; and his fleets and armies were threatening the coasts of Italy and the frontier fortresses of Poland and Germany ; " the Historie of the Turkes being," as Knolles wrote in the seventeenth century, no less than that of the woefull Ruine of the greater part of the Christian commonwealthe." This surprising growth and expansion of the Turkish Empire was, no doubt, chiefly due to its position, as the representative of Militant Islam ; all the scattered fragments of the Arabian Khalifat and the Musalman world which had been shattered by the Mogul invasions, now rallied round the House of Othman and grouped themselves beneath its horse-tail standard. But the rapidity and permanence of the Turkish conquests must be ascribed before all to the excellence of their military system ; no such thorough elaborate military organization has ever been known to exist among any of the nations whom we class under the general designation of Oriental. The Ottoman Turks had a standing army of professional soldiers, permanently organized and strictly disciplined, and paid, clothed and lodged by the State, while all the Christian nations of Europe still relied on general and feudal levies of Militia, on the hire of bands of mercenaries, or on the personal prowess of the military caste of the nobility. The institution of the Janissaries preceded the first commencement of the Standing Army System in Europe by nearly two hundred years. For a brief interval during the immemorial rivalry between the Contingents of Europe and Asia, between the conflicting civilizations of the west and the east, the advantage in military science and discipline lay on the side of the Orientals.

In the ancient warfare of Grecians against Persians, of Romans against Parthians, the military systems of Europe proved as superior to those of Asia as they are at the present day. The early conquests of the Arabs were due to religious zeal, courage, and numbers, and not to any superiority of their military system. The Semitic race has always been conspicuously lacking in professional military skill, and the "Junúd" of the armies of the Khalifat were formed rather on a local and territorial than on a military basis. When the services of a permanent military body were required, Semitic rulers always had recourse to alien agency. King David had among his men of war bands of "Cherethim and Pelethim" (Cretans and Philistines?). The Khalifs of Baghdad surrounded their throne with Turkish body-guards. The Sultans of Egypt recruited their corps of Mamluks from Turks and Circassians. And down to the present day the Arab, though a born warrior, makes an indifferent regular soldier.

The Mongolian race, on the contrary, at one time at least in its history, displayed a marked genius for military organization. Enough traces of it exist even at this day in China, to show that the "Banner Armies" must have once formed an effectively organized fighting force. The organization of the Mogul hordes with which Chinghiz Khan and his successors overran all Asia and all Eastern Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was planned on true military lines, at once simple and thorough. Every able bodied Tatar was a soldier was one of a squad of 10 men, the best man of the squad being and Onbáshi, or Decurion. Ten of these squads formed the squadron, which was commanded by the senior of the ten Onbashis, with the title of Yuzbáshi (centurion). Ten squadrons formed the alai, or regiment, commanded by the senior Yuzbáshi as Minbáshi. Ten regiments formed a division, or Tomán, commanded by the Tománbáshi. Ten Tománs formed the Army Corps, or Uidu (*Anglice* Horde), under the Senior Tománbáshi, with the title of Orlok or Marthal. Ten of these Urdus formed the national army under the command of the Khan, who retained the immediate personal Command of one of them. Thus the Khán's orders had only to be repeated through five officers to reach every soldier in the army. It would be difficult to imagine any system more simple and effective for a nation of martial barbarians.

It will be observed also that each commander of a unit is head of one of the smaller units composing it. We shall find this system repeated in the Turkish Janissaries, and also in the first establishments of Standing Armies in Europe, where, for long, General Officers continued to be Colonels of regiments, and Colonels had companies in their own regiments. Any

student of the history of the wars of Changhiz and of Timúr must see that the Moguls were possessed of military talents of no mean order.

The early army leaders of the Ottoman Turks also displayed great military talents, whether inherited or acquired ; but it is doubtful whether the institution of the Janissaries and the other corps of their Standing Army was an original idea, or whether it was suggested by the counsels of Byzantic or European renegades. The idea was so thoroughly opposed to all oriental traditions and customs that we should be inclined to ascribe it to the latter source. The establishment of a picked Corps of foot-soldiers was a strange innovation in oriental warfare. The Mamelukes were all Cavalry. The Mogul armies were composed mainly of horsemen. The Turks themselves were so averse to serving on foot that the Janissaries were recruited at first exclusively from Christian boys taken captive in Turkish raids. However, the credit of their institution is always ascribed to Alá-ud-dín, brother and vazir of Sultan Oikhán, the second monarch of the House of Othman. The foundation of a Royal Standing Army was first laid by the entertainment of a Corps of paid Cavalry called Ulufagi (soldati) ; and another corps of Ghurabá (Foreigners) formed from adventurers of other tribes and nations who enlisted under the Osmanli banner. The Turkish order of battle was the same as that of the Moguls, in five corps or bodies ; main body, vanguard, rearguard, right wing and left wing. The Ulufagis and Ghurabá were each divided into two alái, or regiments, known by the prefix of Sagh (Right) and Sol (Left), having their permanent stations on the right and left wings of the army. Two other regiments were afterwards raised on the same footing, one of them called the Sipáhis (Troopers), stationed on the right wing, the other the Siláhdars (Gensdarmes), stationed on the left wing.

These six regiments constituted the whole force of the paid or regular Cavalry, and were all known by the general name of Sipáhis, a word which among the Osmánlis signified only a horse soldier, and was never applied to the Infantry. It was used for any Cavalier, but was particularly employed to specify these paid troopers, and was the particular designation of one of the regiments, distinguished as the Sipáhis of the Red Standard.

The colours of the standards which served to distinguish the "Alti Bulúk" or "Six Troops" were as follows :—

Sagh Ulufaji	...	..	Red and White.
Sol Ulufaji	...	...	Red and Yellow.
Sagh Ghurabá	...	.	Graen.
Sol Ghurabu	...	...	White.
Sipáhis	...	...	Red.
Siláhdárs	...	...	Yellow.

The regiments were organised in Troops (Bulúk) of from 25 to 30 troopers each, with a Bulúk bási (Captain) and a Bairakdár (Cornet), with a standard for each troop. The first four regiments, called the Bulúkiyát-i-arbia (Four Troops), were generally kept about the Sultan's person, and were maintained at a strength of about 500 men. The other two regiments were much stronger, and were augmented or reduced by increasing or diminishing the number of their Troops for war or peace establishment. In the old Muster Rolls a regiment has at one time 300 Troops, aggregating 7,000 men; at another time 100 Troops, with 3,000 men.

The two regiments of Ulúfaji were reckoned the senior corps in the whole Ottoman Army, and they always furnished the guard for the Sanják-i-sharif, or Sacred Standard of the Prophet, when it was taken into the field.

The regimental staff of each regiment was composed as follows: an Aghá (Colonel); a Básh Kiáyá (Major); a Kiáyá Yeri (Adjutant), who signed all orders; a Básh Cháush (Sergeant Major), who performed the duties of a Provost Marshal; and the Básh-Bulúk-bási (senior Captain), who corresponded to the Rissaldár-Major of our Indian Cavalry regiments.

The Colonels were called by the name of their regiment, as Sipáhi Aghási, Siláhdár Aghási, &c. They ranked among the Agháyán-i-Berún (Masters of the Outer Court) in the official hierarchy of the Báb-i-Humáyún (Sublime Porte).

The whole body of officers of the six regiments went by the generic name of Bulúk Aghálari (Lords of the Troopers).

The Sipáhi regiments were all maintained on what we call in India the Siláhdár system; that is, the Porte paid a lump sum for each trooper, and he found his own horse, forage, arms, and equipment.

It would appear that the sipáhis wore some kind of distinctive dress, from the mention of "the dress of a sipáhi" by Turkish writers. Bishop Newton, writing in the early part of the eighteenth century, says, the Turkish Sipáhis wore "martial apparel of red and yellow," whence he deduces their identity with the horsemen of the Book of Revelation, described as having breast-plates of jacinth and fire and brimstone. Old pictures of sipáhis show them wearing long robes of scarlet or crimson with high cylindrical white or yellow turbans. A picture of Prince Eugene at the siege of Belgrade, painted by the lesser Vanduyck, now in the possession of T. Croysdale, Esq., of Hawke House, Sunbury on Thames, shows the sipáhis wearing white turbans and red robes with yellow braid. Uniformity of costume does not seem to have been rigidly enforced in the Ottoman Army,

though it appears they had some early ideas of its utility. One of Amir Timur's Corps Commanders gave each of the 10 Tomans, or Divisions, which formed his corps a distinguishing colour for its standards, horse-furniture, kamarbands and turbans, &c., and we are told that Timur was greatly pleased with the effect when the corps passed before him in review. At the inauguration of the Ottoman standing army system, a fair start seems to have been made towards uniform dress. But the experiment never got any further; and it was on this very question of Uniform that in modern times the Sultans and their soldiers came to a fatal misunderstanding.

History leaves the armament of the sipáhis as undefined as their dress. Knolles says the Turkish horsemen were "much pestered with arms;" carrying lance, scimitar, dagger, battle-axe and bow and arrows. The latter was later on replaced by a pair of pistols and sometimes by a musket. Turkish historians speak of the lances of the sipáhis. The regiments were recruited from the pages of the seraglio (Ichoghláns), who were mostly Christian boys captured in war or levied as tribute from the Rayás: when fully grown, these boys were enrolled as troopers in the sipáhis, if not otherwise provided for. The sons of sipáhis, also could claim, as a right, enlistment in the corps: soldiers of the dismounted corps such as the Janissaries, &c., were also transferred to the sipáhis as a reward for distinguished service; when the members of the corps required further augmentation recourse was had to general enlistment.

The dismounted troops of the paid or regular Army formed 8 separate corps as follows, all organized in companies:—

The Corps of Janissaries (Infantry).

The Corps of Topjis (Artillery).

The Corps of Top Arábajis (Train).

The Corps of Jabajis (Ordnance Storekeepers).

The Corps of Khumpárajis (Bombardiers).

The Corps of Laghúmjis (Sappers and Miners).

The Corps of Sakkus (Watercarriers).

The Corps of Ajam Oghláns (Foreign boys, Recruits), which served as a training depôt for the other 7 corps.

The Turks attributed the first institution of the Janissaries to the Prophet Muhəmmad, who, they said, after the battle of Beder, converted and enlisted in his army a number of infidel prisoners of war. This, however, was a pure fiction, of a piece with many of the facts related in Turkish histories. The sofa Tazkiras, or enlistment certificates, given by Janissary Captains to novices seeking admission to the corps referred its institution back to the "Kalú Balá" (he said that it was

good), meaning the creation of the world; a vaunt that reminds us of the boast of the old Gardes Françaises and of our own Royal Scots, of descent from the guards of Pontius Pilate.

The first ten companies of Janissaries were raised in the year 1326 A. D. by Sultan Orkhán with 1,000 Christian boys made captives in the raids of the Ottoman armies. The boys were of Greek, Armenian, and Syrian parentage. They were circumcised and instructed in the faith of Islám, given Musalman names, and practised in gymnastics and the use of arms. They were organized in companies of 100, the highest military unit then known in European warfare. The companies were numbered and were also distinguished by a badge. These ten companies or Bulúks retained their numbers, badges, organization, and even their original dress for five centuries: a unique historical instance of the survival of a military organization. The new corps was paraded for the purpose of receiving the blessing of the celebrated Saint Háji Bektásh, who stretched out his arms over the heads of the front rank, and exclaimed "Let them be called Yangichari" (new militia): and from this utterance of the saint they derived their peculiar name, which has now become familiar to all the languages of Europe; while as a reminiscence of his outstretched sleeve as he was in the act of blessing them, their uniform cap of white felt was garnished with a strip hanging down to their shoulders. The Janissaries were commonly spoken of as "Háji Bektásh's soldiery:" and Dervishes of the Bektáshli order were attached to their companies under the name of Hú-kashán, or shouters of Hú (Heú), or Allah hú, by which cry they incited the soldiers of Islám to the battle.

These new soldiers so fully fulfilled the expectations of their masters that the number of Bulúks, or companies, of them was speedily raised to 61. Moreover, the Turkish irregular infantry, or "Azabs," were picked of their best men who were formed into more companies of Janissaries; but to these companies the Arabic name of Jámáat was given, instead of the Turkish Bulúk. And the men of these Jámáats were called Yáyás, a Turkish corruption of the Persian word Piyáda (a foot-soldier). In the same way the Turkish word Kiáya is simply a mispronunciation of the Persian Katkhudá. The number of Jámáats was successively raised to 101, and they were numbered from one upwards like the old Bulúks, and also received badges and in many cases distinguishing titles. Thus the first four companies, which were raised from the baggage-carriers and guards of the Sultan, went by the name of Dawajis, or Shuturbáns (Turkish and Persian respectively

for Camel-drivers), and their Captains, were called *Dawaji Báshi*. No. 1 *Jamáat* had a camel for its distinguishing company badge.

Early in the Fifteenth Century Sultan Murad II., being assailed by a powerful coalition of the Christian Princes, formed all his royal hunting establishment of *Sagbáns* (chas-seurs) into 34 companies, or *Odas* (Chambers), of Janissaries, numbered from 1 to 34. This was the last formation of Janissaries, and the total number of Companies long stood at 196. But in the 17th Century the brutal murder of Sultan Othman, the Second, by the men of the 65th *Jamá'at*, caused that Company to be broken up, and its number thereafter remained vacant, a solemn curse being pronounced upon it once a week at the distribution of candles in the Janissary barracks. The total number of Companies thereafter stood at 195, namely 61 *Bnlúks*, 100 *Jamá'ats*, and 34 *Odas* of *Sagbáns*.

The *Bulúks* and *Jamaáts* are also indiscriminately called *Odas* by Turkish writers, from the chambers or wooden barracks in which the Janissaries were lodged in garrison : they are also commonly called *Ortas*, which seems to be an equivalent term.

The Janissaries not only had free lodging in barracks, but they were fed and clothed by the Sultan. Free rations were the keystone of their organization. Each Company had two soup kettles, which were regarded as its *Palladia*, with almost superstitious veneration. If the soup kettles were lost, all the officers of the Company without exception must be cashiered. The Captain of the Company was called the *Chorbaji* (soup-giver): the Adjutant, or Serjeant-Major, was the *Ashji-báshi*, or chief-cook. The whole corps was called the *Oják*, or *Hearth* : and its officers were spoken of collectively as the *Oják Aghálari*, or Lords of the kitchen-range.

The *Segirdum Ashji-báshi*, or Headquarters chief-cook, was a great man on the staff of the Janissary Agha, and a conspicuous figure at parades and reviews, where he had to be supported on each side by a Janissary to enable him to support the weight of the silver pots and pans, chains and choppers with which his dress and person were adorned as the insignia of his high office.

Each company had six officers ; the *Chorbaji* is generally called a colonel by European writers, who also commonly give the designation of regiments to the *Odas* ; and, indeed, in later times the *Oda*, though retaining its original organization, often bore on its rolls some hundreds, and even in some cases thousands, of names. And the rank and position of the *Chorbaji* certainly corresponded more to that of a field officer in European armies. He was not required to live in barracks with the men, and was mounted on parade and in the field.

The Oda-báshi occupied more the position of a captain, or company-father, living in barracks with the men, punishing them with his own hand, and supervising all the daily details of duty.

The Bairakdár, or Ensign, carried the Company colour, and acted as a subaltern officer.

The Vakil-i-Kharch kept the pay and equipment accounts of the Company assisted by civilian clerks (yázjis).

The Ashji-Báshi, or chief cook, gave out the rations to the Company and superintended the kitchen, which was also the guard room and prison of the Company.

The Básh-Karakullukji (Corporal-Major), also called the Básh-Eski (Chief-Ancient), kept the guard and duty rosters of the Company.

To these six officers may be added the Sukká-Báshi (Head Water-carrier), or Sú-Báshi, who was attached to each Company of Janissaries to command the Sakkas, or Bhistis, serving with it.

The 1st and 5th Bulúks each had an extra officer called the Zembilji.

Each Company was divided into squads of 20 men, with an Ashji or Cook as Serjeant, and a Karakullukji as corporal to each squad. These formed one Mess and in the field lived in one tent; having a horse or mule to carry their bell-tent, and the sheepskin rugs which they used for sleeping on. Each tent had the badge of the Company painted upon it.

The corps of Janissaries had a large Head-quarter establishment which was always permanently located at Constantinople after the capture of that Imperial City. Here the Diván, or Military Council, of the corps assembled, composed of six General Officers; the Yangichari Aghási, or Captain General; the Kul Kiáyá (Master of the Slaves), or Lieutenant-General; and four Major-Generals, called respectively the Sagbán-báshi (Head Dog-keeper), the Zagharji-báshi (Head keeper of the Pointers), the Samsúnji-bashi (Head keeper of the Mastiffs) and the Turnáji-bashi (Head Falconer). The Kul-Kiáyá was Chorbaji of the 1st Bulúklis; the Major-Generals were all also Captains of Companies: only the Janissary Agha had no Company; the corps of Janissaries had at first been commanded by the Sagbán Báshi; but Sultan Selim the ferocious, the conqueror of Egypt, having quelled a meeting by the execution of the Sagbán-báshi, appointed an officer from his own household troops to be Aghá of the Janissaries, and settled the corps staff upon the footing on which it remained for three centuries more. The Aghá was always appointed directly by the Sultan and was the only officer in the corps who need not have been a Janissary. He ranked with a

Pasha of two horsetails, and had a seat in the Imperial Divan, or Council of Ministers, that he might represent the opinion of the formidable body he commanded. He took the field only when the Sultan commanded the Army in person, until later times, when the Sultans ceased to lead their armies, and he then accompanied the grand Vazir.

The Kul Kiáyá acted as the Aghá's Deputy, and commanded the Janissaries in the field when the Grand Vazir commanded the Army.

The Sagbân-bashi took the Aghá's place at Constantinople when he and the Kul-Kiájá were absent in the field.

The three other Major-Generals commanded the Janissaries in the Army when the latter was commanded by a Seraskier, neither the Sultan nor the Grand Vazir being present. They also superintended the conscriptions of Christian boys.

The Staff Officers at the corps Head-quarters were as follows :—The Mazhar Aghá, Captain of the 25th Bulúk, which furnished the Aghá's escort and bodyguard. He acted as Aide-de Camp to the Aghá.

The Básh-Cháush, Captain of the 5th Bulúk, to which was attached the Company of Cháushes who acted as provosts and executioners.

The Kiáyá yeri, who performed the duties of Adjutant General and signed all the orders. He was always Captain of the 32nd Bulúk, which furnished the guards and orderlies for the Headquarters office.

The Beitul Málji was the Treasurer of the Corps, and Chorbaji of the 101st Jamá'at.

The OjáK Imám was Captain-General of the Corps and was Chorbaji of the 48th Jamá'at.

The Yangichai Katibi was the Chief Clerk, or Record Keeper. He had under him a number of Yázijis (Scribes) who were employed in his office or detached to act as writers with the Companies.

The Headquarters at Constantinople was called the OjáK (Kitchen Range), or the Aghá Kápúsi, and consisted of a palace for the Agha's official residence, a hall for the Diván, or Council of the corps, offices, record rooms, and quarters for guards and orderlies.

The promotion of the officers was by selection from the ranks, and then by seniority through all the grades up to Oda-báshi. The promotion to Chorbaji was by selection from all the Oda-báshis, the newly promoted officer being generally posted Captain of a Company of Recruits (Ajami Yáyá-bashi) from which he was transferred as vacancies occurred to be Captain of a Company of Janissaries (Kapie Yáyá-bashi).

The promotion to General Officer was by selection from the Chorbajis.

To ensure a flow of promotion forty Military fiefs were placed at the disposal of the Janissary Agha, to be conferred on General Officers and Chorbajis. The officer accepting one of these received the title of Yáyá Bey and a horsetail standard, and vacated his place in the corps. The position corresponded with that of a colonel with off reckonings in our Indian Army, and the term Yáyá Bey may be translated "Infantry Colonel."

The Chorbajis were promoted indiscriminately into the Bulúks, Jamáats and Odas of Sagbáns; for all the Janissaries, whether Buluklis, Yáyás, or Sagbáns, were exactly on the same footing, and there was no more difference between them than there is between our Fusiliers, Light Infantry, and other British Regiments of foot. The Chorbajis of the Jamá'ats of Yáyás wore yellow boots and were mounted on parade in presence of the Aghá or other General Officers of the corps, while those of the Buluklis and Sagbáns wore red boots, and marched on foot with their Companies in presence of a superior officer.

The Sultan was always enrolled at his accession as a private in the 1st Bulúk, which had a crescent for its badge. On the first quarterly distribution of the pay he attended in person at the barracks to draw his pay as Private, and when it was handed to him, his Khazánadár added to it a handful of gold coins and distributed it to the men of the Company. This Bulúk was always kept at an extra strength of 500 men, and was permanently quartered at the capital. The 64th Jamá'at, called the Zagharjis, had a full moon for their badge, and were 300 strong.

The 68th Jamá'at were the Turnajis, and had a crane for their badge. They were stationed at Widdin, and had a peace strength of 150 men.

The 71st Jamá'at were the Samsúnjis, and had a Mastiff for their badge and a strength of 200 men. These four Odas were always owned by the General Officers of the Corps.

The 60th, 61st, 62nd and 63rd Jamá'ats were kept at a strength of 200 each, and were always quartered at Constantinople, each of them furnishing 100 men to form a company of Solaks (Sinistrals) as Body Guards for the Sultan. They were so called because those who marched on the off side of the Sultan's horse drew their bows with the left hand. They retained their old equipment as archers, and were picked for their size and strength from among the men of their Jamá'ats. Each company was commanded by a Solak-báshi. Von Hammer, the able and voluminous historian of the Ottoman Empire, reckons the solaks as separate companies, thus making the total number of Odas of Janissaries 199.

But the Solak companies were mere detachments from particular Jamá'ats: they had no flag or soup-kettles, no special badges, though they had a special dress.

The Company Badge, or Nishán, was painted over the barrack doors, on the lanterns, and on all the furniture of the company; it was embroidered on the flag and on the canvas of the tents, and was tattooed on the arm of every soldier. These badges were generally the figures of animals or birds, lions, falcons, &c.; weapons, such as bows, muskets, cannons, &c or tents, minarets, palm-trees, cypress trees, &c

The 82nd Jamá'at had the title of Zumbúrukji, and had a cross-bow for its Nishán. The 31st Bulúk was said to have been first raised for service afloat, and had an anchor for its badge: other Odas also have anchors, ships, and war-gallies. The 45th Bulúk was singular in having the motto "Ala Allah Tawakkul" ("our trust is in God"), in lieu of a badge, for its Nishán.

Many of the Odas had official titles by which they were distinguished, as well as by their numbers. Fourteen of the Jamá'ats, including the first four, had the title of Shutuibans. The 14th, 49th, and 66th were entitled Kháseki, or Royal. The 55th Bulúk had the title of Ta'alimkhánaji, or Gymnasts, and the 33rd Sagbáns were called the Avjis, or Marksmen.

When the Janissaries were outlawed in 1826 and were hunted down and killed in every city of the empire, many of the men used a violent chemical preparation to remove the mark of the Nishán tattooed upon their arms, which cost them their lives through blood-poisoning.

The Janissary, when first enrolled, was rated as a "Kúchik," or young soldier: he afterwards became an "Amalmánda," or tried soldier; and finally an "Oturak," or Sedentary. These three classes had different rates of pay, and there were again successive grades in the classes, so that the system much resembled that in our own Indian Native Army to-day. The lowest rate of daily pay of a private was one asper, and the highest 40 aspers (about eight annas). The Oturaks, or Sedentaries, were men who were unfit by age for field service, but were employed on garrison duty: when they became too old for that also, they were made supernumerary to the strength of the company, but continued to live in barracks and to draw pay and rations. When Sultan Murad the Terrible invaded Persia, veteran Janissaries who had served under Sultan Sulimán the Magnificent at the siege of Sigeth were carried in litters at the head of the columns to encourage the troops by their reminiscences of former triumphs. When a Janissary became Oturak, he was allowed to grow his beard; and they were Oturaks who were sent to persuade Charles the Twelfth

to surrender at Bender, and whom he mortally affronted by threatening to shave their beards for them, causing them to cry out "Ah! this head of iron (Demir-bâsh)! if he will perish, let him perish!"

The Imperialist General Montecuculli, in his treatise on the Art of fighting the Turks, has much to say in praise of their military system, and contrasts the happy lot of the aged Janissary with the miserable fate of the old soldier in the armies of Europe, left to die like a dog in a ditch when worn out with toil and wounds in the service of an ungrateful master.

He also advocates a conscription of boys in European countries, to be trained as soldiers, like the Turkish Ajam Oghtans, as an advantageous method of obtaining recruits. There was no system of conscription in European countries in these days.

The pay of all the troops in continual pay (the Kâpi-Kuli, or Imperial Troops) was calculated by the day, but issued only once a quarter. Each quarter's pay had a cant name made up from the initials of the three months for which it was due; as "Masai" for the months Muharram, Safar and Rabi-ul-awwal; and Rajaj, Rasha, and Lazaz for the other quarters.

Muster-rolls and pay abstracts were carefully prepared and checked beforehand; facsimiles and translations of the pay-rolls are given in Ahmad Tavâd Pasha's book. The accounts are in the Raqam character which is still used in financial and commercial transactions by the Musalmans in India, but is now quite obsolete in Turkey.

The quarterly pay was drawn from the Imperial and Provincial Treasuries, much as the monthly pay of the troops is drawn in India, and was carried to the barracks for distribution to the companies. A debtor and creditor account was kept with each man in the company, many articles of equipment and also extra messing being debited to the account. A cash chest was kept in each company, and the amount of the estates of deceased Janissaries went into the company's funds.

When a new Sultan ascended the throne, he secured the support of the Kâpi-Kuli by a Julûs Bakhshish, or Accession gratuity. As in most Musulman States, the succession was generally disputed; and the claimant who could obtain the support of the regular army was sure to gain the day. The soldiery naturally put a high price on their services, and the treasury was emptied to satisfy their rapacity. This was one among other causes of the disorganization of Turkish finance which led to the payment of the troops falling into arrears. This again caused mutinies and revolutions, to appease which

the Porte, having no money to pay the troops their due, granted them assignments on the customs and land revenues, and trade monopolies. In later days, in many of the principal cities of Turkey, the customs were entirely managed by the Janissaries, and some of the companies thus became wealthy trading corporations.

The General Officers of the Janissaries received, in addition to their pay, handsome sums as Arpalik, or forage allowance, to enable them to keep up a brave show. Many of them became Pashas and Vazirs: it was no uncommon thing in Turkey for a slave and a private soldier to rise to the highest positions in the State. Abdi Agha, who was Kul-Kiáyá of the Janissaries at the memorable siege of Candia, afterwards became Vazir and Viceroy of Hungary, and bravely defended Buda against the Germans, dying sword in hand to gain the breach in the final and fatal assault, like a true Turk of the old school.

The Janissaries were governed by a written code of martial law; not so voluminous as those of modern times, however, for it contained only 14 articles, and they were very briefly expressed. Discipline was strictly maintained for a long time, and only gradually decayed with the general decay of the institutions of the Empire. Any officer could sentence a soldier to confinement to barracks for a specified period, the Chorbaji or the Oda-báshi alone had the power to order corporal punishment to the extent of 39 blows with a stick, which were inflicted by the Oda-báshi himself. A General Officer could order 79 lashes, which were inflicted by the Cháushes with a whip. The Janissary Agha, or the Diván of the corps, could give imprisonment for life or for long periods in the Castle of the Seven Towers, or could dismiss a Janissary from the service, or could sentence him to death by strangling or decapitation, the sentence being confirmed by the Kázi-Askar, or Military Judge.

The execution was always carried out privately in the castle, and a gun was fired to announce the event to the outside world.

When a Janissary was sentenced to dismissal for flagrant misconduct, he was publicly expelled from the corps, the strip of facing-cloth on the collar of his coat being ripped off in presence of the company.

The officers and Kasákullukchis were held to be justified in striking, knocking down, or even killing, any soldier who openly refused to obey their lawful commands. The reduction of the number of blows and lashes to 39 and 79 rings strongly of the semitic hypocrisy which has so largely leavened the institutions of all the Oriental Nations which have adopted the religion of the Arabian prophet; and expressed itself in the "forty stripes save one" of the Jewish Penal Code.

The Janissaries were at first recruited from captive Christian boys swept up in the annual campaigns of the Turkish Armies, which were slave-raids on a gigantic scale. Later on, their ranks were replenished by an organized conscription of boys from among the Christian subject of the Sultan. Every five years the Janissary Major-Generals went into the provinces, each having a circle allotted to him, and organized press-gangs to traverse the districts and collect all the finest and strongest boys between the ages of ten and fifteen, till the required number was made up. The boys were marched to Constantinople, Adrianople, and Broussa, where the handsomest and most intelligent were selected to serve in the Imperial Sarái, either as Pages (Ichoghians), or as recruits for the Baltajis or other corps of the Sultan's Palace Guards. The rest were formed into companies of Ajam Oghláns (foreign boys), commanded by Janissary Officers, and underwent circumcision, instruction in the religion of Islam, and military training. Their novitiate lasted, as a general rule, seven years, and they were then drafted into the active army. The Bostanjis, or Sultan's Park Rangers, got the first pick of them; the Topjis, or Artillery Corps, had the next choice; the residue went to the Jebejis and the Janissaries.

The Bulúklis were at first condemned to life-long celibacy; but it is doubtful if this rule was ever enforced on the Yáyás, and Sagbáns, who were originally Mussalmans. A regulation so repugnant to Moslem custom and tradition could not be expected to last long. When a Janissary married, he was allowed to live out of barracks, resigning his rations to his comrades. These married men generally became shop-keepers or artisans in their garrison town, only coming to the barracks for muster and pay.

These men soon claimed to have their children enrolled as Janissaries, and this was sanctioned. The orphan children of deceased Janissaries were enrolled as Fazlakhwárán (crumb-eaters) and maintained on the surplus rations of the Company. Soldiers of the irregular infantry corps of Azabs, Levends &c, were sometimes transferred to the Janissaries as a reward for distinguished or meritorious services; and, finally, the general enlistment of any Musalmans was authorised.

The last levy of Christian boys was made towards the close of the seventeenth century; the cause of the suspension of a system that had worked so well, and was such a source of strength to the ruling Musalman race, does not seem clear.

Probably the Turks by blood who already formed the majority of the Kápi-Kuli, disliked the introduction of the foreign renegade element into the ranks: or the victories of the Christian Powers, and the loss of Ottoman territory at the Peace of

Carlowitz, which entirely altered the relative positions of Islam and Christendom, may have deterred the Turks from further provoking the resentment of the Ráyás, who from that time forward no longer looked on the Turk as a master who must be propitiated, but as a usurper who might be dethroned. From whatever cause, the levy of tribute children ceased entirely just when one might have imagined that it would be most needed, when the Turkish armies were decimated by a long and disastrous war.

But the innovation that gave the *coup de grâce* to the military value of the Janissaries was the institution of the Yangi-chari Yamáki, or Reserve Janissaries. Sultan Murad the Third, finding the numbers of the corps grievously thinned by a long, tedious, and indecisive war with the Germans on the frontiers of Hungary, permitted Turks to enlist as Reserve Janissaries, who should be available for service in time of war, but should only draw pay and rations when actually employed with the soup kettles, returning to civil life on the conclusion of a campaign. By this means the war strength of a company was to be raised to 500 men, though the number of officers was not augmented. The fame of the corps and the power of its officers attracted crowds of volunteers under these new regulations, and, in consequence, on the opening of a campaign the Janissaries were made up to war strength by a mob of untrained and undisciplined men. Moreover, the Chorbajis, to enhance their own importance, soon passed the limit of 500 and enrolled any man who presented himself; so that, in process of time, some companies came to have thousands of men on their rolls; and at the time of the dissolution of their corps, the Kirk Bin Kul (Forty thousand slaves), as they were still called, mustered about a hundred and fifty thousand. The Yamak had the badge of his Oda tattooed on his arm, took the oath of fidelity, underwent the ceremony of enlistment and received a Sofa Tazkíra, or certificate, from the Chorbáji. Ahmad Javid Pa-ha has given one of these curious documents in his history of the Turkish Army. Its long preamble breathes a spirit of exalted fanaticism mingled with military pride. It proceeds to certify that Ataulla Effendi, son of Abdur Rohman Bey, has placed his coat upon the sofa of the 19th Orta of Bulúklis, and become their comrade. The seal bears the numeral 19 and a cypress tree, the device of the Orta, and it is signed Sayyid Hasan Usta.

The ceremony of swearing in a Janissary recruit was performed before the assembled company. The statutes of the corps were read to him, and an oath of fidelity was taken by him, the Oda-báshí then invested him with the coat and cap of a Janissary, and hailed him as 'Yoldásh,' or comrade, at

the same time giving him a buffet as an earnest of the discipline in store for him.

The "Sofa" was the raised dais, or platform, which ran along one side of a Janissary barrack-room, on which the men sat and slept. The barracks were ranges of wooden buildings erected in all the towns in which garrisons were quartered. There were two blocks of barracks at Constantinople, the Askir Odalar and Zangi Odalar, or Old and New Barracks. No woman could venture into the streets near the Janissary Barracks: if she did, she must do it at her own risk, and was debarred from complaint or redress if she were outraged. The quarters surrounding the barracks were full of coffee shops and wine-taverns in which the soldiers spent their time and their pay.

After the establishment of the seat of the Empire at Constantinople the Companies or Odas of Janissaries were kept permanently quartered in the capital, or in the chief cities and great frontier fortresses of the Empire.

30 of the Buluks, 11 Jama'ats, and only 1 Oda of Sagbans, were permanently quartered in Constantinople; 42 Companies in all. The other 153 companies were for the most part stationed in brigades in the great fortresses, Buda, Belgrade, Kaminick, Oczakoff, Kars, Baghdad, &c. Each of these Brigades was commanded by the Senior Chorbaji in the garrison, with the brevet rank of a General officer and the title of Sarbrad Aghá (Lord of the Marches). The junior Chorbaji present performed the functions of Kíáya Yeri, or Brigade-Major, and signed the orders. Single Companies were detached to garrison stations and were relieved from time to time. A distribution list of the corps in the year 1750 shows 74 Janissaries in garrison at Batoum, and 71 at Jerusalem. The Senior Officer at a single station had the title of Sirdar (Commandant) and the powers of an Aghá. The Janissaries at the permanent head-quarters of this Company were included among the Yeri Kuli (Territorial Troop): those detached on temporary garrison duty were called Naubatji (Duty-men).

The Janissaries originally sent to garrison Misr-al-Káhira (Cairo) and the cities of the Barbary Coast, became permanently detached from the corps, ceased to have any connection with the Ojáq at Stamboul and formed an organization of their own. In Algiers the Janissaries seized the Government, electing one of their own body as Dái (Dey), which signifies maternal uncle in Turkish. The mutinous Janissaries in Servia in 1800 also elected Dáis to be their leaders and rulers. This curious title is supposed to have been derived by the Turks from some tradition of matriarchal institutions among the Mongolian nations in pre-historic times.

The Sarhad Aghás kept the keys of the great fortresses. When the Emperor Joseph invaded Servia, he found it more convenient to negotiate with the Aghás than with the Vazirs and the Pashas: for the latter could not enforce obedience to their orders among their own people: whereas the Sarhad Aghá with some 5,000 Janissaries at his back, could make his wishes respected on the spot, and at the same time could rely on the support of the all powerful Oják at Stamboul.

The dress of the Janissaries, like their formations and their pay, underwent scarcely any alteration during their five centuries' existence as a military Corporation. They may be said to have been the first troops in Europe to wear a uniform dress, and the attempt to change the fashion of it was one of the causes that led to their final and fatal quarrel with their master, the Sultan.

The head-dress was a cap of white felt, called Uskúf (Italian Scuffia), with a strip of the same falling on their shoulders, said to be in memory of the sleeve of Haji Bektásh. It may be, however, observed that a hanging bag, or top, to the cap appears to have been a common feature in Turkish military costume, and is preserved in the busby-bag of modern hussars, adopted from the Hungarians, who followed many fashions of the Turks, their masters for well-nigh two hundred years. The Uskúf was of different shapes for the various ranks and grades: it had a copper plume-case in front, and a gold-lace band round the base. The origin of the gold band is said to have been as follows. At the sack of Apollonia, a Janissary had looted a golden bowl, and, to hide it, put it on his head under his cap; but the gold showed beneath the edge of the cap, and Sultan Murad spied it, and made the man come to him, and discovered the bowl. But the Sultan was so pleased with the appearance of the man, that he ordered that all the caps should have a gold band round the edge in future, so the name of the cap was changed from Uskúf to Zar-kuláh. The ordinary cap worn by the privates was mitre-shaped: those of the cooks and their assistants were conical: the high cap worn by the grenadiers of European armies on their first institution was copied from a Janissary head-dress. The Chorbajis and Oda-báshis wore a high cap with a broad flat top, and a turban twisted round the base.

The General Officers and Chorbajis wore plumes and aigrettes of different kinds according to their rank and position. the most common was a fan-shaped plume of black heron's feathers. The Solaks wore similar plumes but of white feathers, and so lofty that when they marched by the Sultan's horse, their plumes screened him from the gaze of the crowd.

In later times the Janissaries wore their dress caps only on occasions of State parade, and ordinarily wore a twisted white linen turban, like that now worn by the French Zouaves. The Karákalluchis were distinguished by a high cylindrical turban, and other ranks by a globular one.

The caps were issued by the State, and every Janissary also received annually ten yards of the blue cloth of Salonica, linen for the shirt and the turban, and a pair of red leather shoes. The blue cloth was made into a jacket (*dolmán*) and a pair of wide trousers, (*shalwá*.)

The wide and long skirted coats were supplied by the men themselves and were of any colour, but they were obliged to be of a particular cut for the different ranks. The colour was generally dark blue or dark green, but the officers often wore scarlet robes.

The robes of the General Officers were trimmed with fur. On the march, the long skirts of the coat were kilted by being drawn through the girdle, or *kamarband*, which was of striped silk or cotton; and the wide shalwar were tucked into leather leggings.

The Karákullukchis, or Corporals, wore heavy girdles of copper, which, according to Baron de Tott, "weigh 15lbs., and with it these officers may kick down and kill any Janissary."

The Ashjis (cooks) wore black leather gowns studded with *plaques* and knobs of copper or silver according to their rank, and had silver-handled knives and choppers for insignia. On dress parades the Ashji-báshi was supported on each side by a Karákullukchi to enable him to support the weight of his metal ornaments.

The Chosbajis of the Jamá'ats of Yáyás wore yellow boots; those of the Buluklis and Sagbáns wore red boots.

All the Janissaries, as slaves of the Sultan, had to shave their chins and cheeks, and were only allowed to grow moustaches.

The officers were all allowed to grow beards, as also were the Oturaks, or superannuated Janissaries.

The Yamaks, or Reserve Janissaries, were also allowed to wear beards.

In the Companies, or Odas, of Sagbáns the men used to wear the wooden spoon with which they ate their soup, stuck in the plume-case of their caps instead of a plume; and their Chorhajis used to similarly wear a silver soup-ladle, whence they were nick-named Káshukji-báshi, or Lords of the Ladle.

Silver badges, to be worn in the cap or turban, were given to Turkish soldiers for acts of distinguished bravery. Sabres and pelisses of honour were bestowed on officers, sometimes individually, for acts of valour and devotion, sometimes collectively for a successful battle or campaign.

When the Janissaries were first raised, fire-arms had not been invented, and they were armed with picks, sabres, maces, and battle-axes, besides bows and arrows. But, soon after the invention of the hand-gun, we find the Janissaries armed throughout with the arquebus, and the pike entirely laid aside. In the Hungarian War of 1600 Knolles speaks of the Janissaries "with their great muskets upon restes." In addition to their muskets they had sabres and yataghans, the latter being a long curved knife worn in the girdle and used for cutting off the heads of fallen enemies. It had a crutched handle which, when the knife was planted in the ground, served as a rest for firing.

This was the only weapon worn by the Janissary in peacetime. His musket and ammunition were kept in bells of arms and magazines under the charge of the Jebejis, and were only issued for practice or service.

The muskets were of various calibre, and bars of lead were issued to the Company from which the men cast their own bullets. The accoutrements were a ball-bag and a powder-horn suspended by silk cords from the shoulders, as also were the sabres.

The Janissary Agha had a band of music of 16 Musicians with 8 pairs of instruments ('the eight fold Turkish music'). The only music in the Companies was supplied by drums.

The Grand Standard of the Corps (Liva) was white, with a device in gold of a crescent and double Scimitar: the colour (Baviak) of each company was red, with the same device and the Nishán of the Orta in addition.

Most of the above details may be taken to refer to the other dismounted Corps of the Kápi-Kuli, or Imperial Troops, who are, indeed, commonly lumped together by European writers under the comprehensive designation of Janissaries.

The Turks were the first nation in Europe to possess an Artillery Corps and an Artillery Train. The Corps of Topjis (Gunners) was organised on the same lines as the Janissaries, early in the fifteenth century. It was commanded by an officer called the Topji-báshi. The Top-Arábji-Báshi commanded the corps of drivers. No Military Train Service was formed in any European Army until three centuries later.

The Jebejis or Ordnance Store Corps was commanded by a Captain General called the Jebeji Bashi. The Jebejis had charge of the Jeba-Khána, or Arsenal, at Constantinople and at all the great cities of the Empire. They were organized like the Janissaries and were also divided into Bulúks and Jamá'ats to correspond with them.

The Corps of Khumpárijis (Bombardiers) and Laghúmjis (Miners) were raised in the early years of the eighteenth

century, when the tables were turned, and the Turks, instead of forestalling the Christian nations in the arts of war, were trying in vain to overtake them.

The Count de Bonneval, a renegade, raised the corps of Khumpárajis, which remained distinct from the Corps of Topjis. Its name was taken from the Turkish name for a mortar or howitzer, Khumpára (lit. piece of a jar).

The greatest strength the Corps attained was 2,000 men.

The Laghúmjis were raised about the same time, when the Turks found their siege operations thwarted by European Engineers trained in the Schools of Vauban and Cohorn. They were commanded by a Laghúmji-bashi. All these corps had their permanent head-quarters at Constantinople; their chiefs had the right to attend the Grand Vazir's Durbar, and were included among the Military Chief Officers of the Porte.

The Sakkas, or water-carriers, formed a separate corps, which supplied water-carriers to every company of the paid or regular troops, like the Bihishtis and Pakhális of our troops in India. The Sakka-Báshi, or Sú-báshi, commanded the water-carriers in each company, ranking as the junior officer of the company. The Sakkas were distinguished by the shape of their caps and by leathern jackets with a stamped pattern and metal ornaments on it.

The Ajam Oghlans, or Recruit-boys, formed companies for the supply of soldiers to all the dismounted corps of the paid or regular Army. There were at one time as many as 60 Companies, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century the number stood at 34, after which it never varied till the final suppression of the corps.

It was about the same time that the conscription of Christian boys was discontinued, and thenceforward the Ajam-Oghlans were recruited from the sons of Janissaries and other Musalman boys. The Companies were numbered on two separate lists, as Bulúks and Jamá'ats respectively. They were also classified in two divisions as Rúmili and Anatoli (European and Asiatic), according to the nationality of the boys.

They were officered from the corps of Janissaries: their chiefs had the title of Istambol Aghási (Constantinople Lord), and ranked below the Lieutenant-General and above the Major-Generals of the Janissaries. His Lieutenants were the Rúmili Aghási and the Anatoli Aghási who commanded the European and Asiatic Brigades of Ajam-Oghlans respectively. Each of these three General Officers was Captain, or Chorbaji, of a Company of recruits.

The Staff officer of the corps was called the Kuloghli Básh Cháush (Provost of the Slave-children).

Each Company had three officers; the Chorbaji, or Captain,

the Maidán-Kiáyá, Lieutenant and Instructor, and the Kapúji (Company Adjutant or Sergeant Major).

There was also a Secretary, or Record-keeper, for the corp, with a staff of writers.

The Ajam Oghláns were lodged in a block of barracks at Constantinople called the Ajam Oghlán Kishlasi (Recruits' writer quarters). They were employed as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Sultan's Sarai or Seraglio, and also as police and scavengers in the capital. Their method of performing the latter duty was to seize on any Christian or Jew who might come handy and make him do the work.

The Janissaries acted as police in all the towns in which they were stationed, furnishing patrols at night to go the rounds of the streets. They were armed only with their knives and with long staves, which they were very expert in using, throwing them so as to trip up any one who trusted to his legs to escape from them. In the capital, and in each garrison town, the different quarters were allotted to the Janissary Chorbajis who performed the duties of police officers and magistrates; and who appear to have been as brutal and venal as might have been expected from their professional character and antecedents.

These Kápi Kuli (slaves of the Porte), the Imperial or Regular troops in permanent pay, formed the most efficient, though least numerous category of the Ottoman Army. Their numbers at the time of their greatest efficiency, did not exceed 50 000 men; but in the eighteenth century their nominal strength reached a much higher figure through the inclusion of civilians, and even of infants in arms, in the muster-rolls.

They were the steel head of the Ottoman lance; the rest of the Turkish Army was called, in contrast to them, Sarhad Kuli (slaves of Frontiers), or territorial troops. These formed the great bulk of the military forces, and were divided into three classes: the first and most numerous was composed of the horsemen holding fiefs of land for their support on condition of serving in the wars, called, according to the value of their fiefs and the number of their followers, Sarják Beys, Za'ims, and Timárlis. The second class was composed of troops who owed military service to the Sultan, but who had neither fiefs nor permanent pay: such as the Akinjis (Foragers), horsemen who found themselves and lived solely by plunder; the Azab (infantry militia), whose organization and pay lasted only for the duration of a campaign; the Levends (Marine Infantry), who were on the same footing, and other similar bodies.

The third class were the Sarij and Sagbáns, bodies of horse and foot enlisted and paid by the Pashas to serve as their

body-guards and as police of their districts and often to support them in rebellion against their sovereign, or in conflict with the Janissaries in garrison in their pashalik. The Sarij were either Dalis (Madcaps) or Gunali's (Hussars), distinguished only by a peculiar dress and equipment.

The Dalis wore high steeple-shaped caps; the Gunalis wore the Hungarian dress of a Kalpak with a hanging top, and a dolman or pelisse. The standing army of Sipahis and Janissaries was, no doubt, the chief factor in the rapidity and the permanence of the Turkish conquests. Their period of greatest efficiency appears to have lasted for about two centuries; but at the time of the death of the great Sultan Suliman their value seems to have been already much impaired, and no doubt a gradual decay in their discipline had been going on for some time previous. There was a formidable mutiny of the Janissaries in the reign of Selim the Ferocious; and his son Suliman found them at times hard to manage. When he obtained the surrender of Buda by granting their lives and liberties to the German garrison, the Janissaries were indignant at the loss of the plunder of the town, which would have been theirs after a successful assault; and when the Germans defiled from the fortress, they assailed them with abuse and reproaches. A German soldier struck a Janissary who insulted him; and this was made the excuse for a general attack upon the unarmed garrison, who were all massacred in defiance of the Sultan's promise. No one was punished for this gross breach of faith and discipline, and the Janissaries were not slow to discover that their masters were afraid of them. After Suliman's death, they refused to let his heir, Sultan Selim the Second, enter Constantinople before the Julús Bakhshish had been paid to them. When Sultan Othman the Second undertook the war against Poland, he suspected that the numbers of the Janissaries in the Army did not correspond with the pay issued for them. He ordered them to parade for muster; but they flatly refused. At the siege of Coczim they traded their rations to the besieged Poles in exchange for wine. The Sultan attributed the failure of the campaign to their insubordination and inefficiency. The quarrel grew till the troops openly mutinied and murdered the unfortunate Sultan. After this the Kápi kuli became the tyrants of the State, and set up and pulled down Sultan and Vazirs at their pleasure. Knolles, the historian of those times says, writing of the murder of Ramzán Pasha at Tripoli by the mutinous Janissaries: "For why, the character of these Martiall men is not now as it anciently was, when they were with a more severe discipline governed; but now, being grown proude and lazie, as is the manner of men living in

continual pay *they, with arms in their hands doubt not to do whatsoever unto themselves seemeth best, be it never so foule or unreasonable."

The measures taken by the Sultans and the Vazirs to check the excesses of the soldiery generally served only to increase them. In the first place the Porte often itself caused the mutinies by debasing the currency in which the troops were paid, or by defrauding them in some other manner; and then the Vazirs tried to quell a mutiny by inviting the ringleaders to a conference where they were seized and strangled, or by hiring assassins to murder them, or by bribing the Sipáhis to attack the Janissaries, or *vice versa*. This last method was so successful that a furious feud was established between the two corps, which on many occasions deluged the streets of Constantinople with blood. Even on the battle-field and in presence of the enemy they used to come to blows with each other.

When Temeswar was besieged by the Germans and the garrison were reduced to sore straits, one hundred Sipáhis broke through the besieger's lines, each man carrying a sack of meal behind him on his horse. The famished Janissaries tried to take the meal from them by force, and in the scuffle that ensued many were killed and wounded. When the grand Vazir's army was marching against the Russians in Poland, in 1769, the Sipáhis and Janissaries both pitched upon the same camping ground one day, and immediately proceeded to decide the question by force of arms, the Janissaries remaining eventually masters of the field. Finally the Porte found itself obliged to exile the Sipáhis to Adrianople and Broussa in order to maintain peace in the streets of the capital.

There was also a standing feud between the Janissaries and the Topjis. The latter maintained their discipline and loyalty better than any other corps, though, in the revolution which ended in the deposition and death of Sultan Selim the Third, in 1807, they went over to the side of the Janissaries, and so decided the defeat of the party of reform. But in 1826, under the command of the famous Topji-báshí Kará Jahanum Ibráhim (Black Hell Ibrahim), they stood firm by the Sultan and mowed down their old rivals with grape and canister. The Jebjis on the contrary were close allies of the Janissaries and always made common cause with them; and they shared in their ruin in 1826.

The signal of a mutiny of the Janissaries was always given by overturning the soup-kettles in the centre of the *At Maidán* (Hippodrome), or parade-ground; while the men on guard at the sublime Porte refused to eat the soup which

was always served to them from the Sultan's kitchen. The mutiny was often appeased by the sacrifice of an obnoxious Vazir; but it more than once ended in the sacrifice of the Sultan himself. On one occasion, at the battle of Zenta in Hungary, the Janissaries mutinied in the field in the face of the enemy. Furious at the mismanagement which had brought them into a position from which there was no escape, they rose on their chiefs and murdered the grand Vazir and all the Pashas, the only officer of rank spared being their own Agha. But he, and ten thousand Janissaries with him, were put to the sword by the Germans, or drowned in the river Theiss, immediately afterwards.

The great mutiny of 1807 was caused by Sultan Selim's attempt to introduce the European drill and dress among the troops, and ended in the murder of the Sultan and the massacre of the Nizam Jadid or New Regulars, whom he had raised to replace and oppose the Janissaries. The last mutiny in 1826 had a similar cause, but a different ending: 7,000 Janissaries perished in the ruins of their blazing barracks, and a greater number later on by the sword or the cord of the executioner. The soup-kettles were overturned that day in the At Maidán for the last time.

The military genius of the Osmanlis appears to have forsaken them along with their enterprise and activity, soon after the capture of the Imperial City of Constantinople had converted the Sultan's camp into a Court, and transformed his nomad hordes of warriors into a settled nation.

From the time of the death of the great Sultan Suliman, a century after the taking of Constantinople, the Turks became absolutely incapable, not only of improving their military institutions, but of keeping them in working order. They allowed the splendid military machine which had been bequeathed to them by their fathers to rust and rot, and become a danger and a nuisance to its employers, without an idea of remedying its defects. They resembled the oran-outang who warms himself at the fire left by the travellers in the woods, but who has not wit enough to put on more sticks to keep it burning.

Their ideas seem to have suddenly stood still. They refused to adopt even the most obvious improvements, such as the use of cartridges, of the bayonet and of steel ramrods.

They attributed their defeats at the hands of the Austrians and Russians to "*Kazá*" or Fate, and not to any fault of their military system. During the whole of the eighteenth century the state of the Ottoman Empire much resembled that of China at the present day, where the elaborately organized "*Bannér Armies*," which cost some six or seven millions

sterling annually for their maintenance, do not furnish one single efficient soldier; and when soldiers are wanted "braves" are enlisted by the Mandarins from any who will offer themselves. In the same way in Turkey the wars against the Russians were carried on by Volunteers, while the Sipáhis and the Janissaries plied their trades in the towns. Many of them were to be found in the bands of Volunteers, among them Janissaries serving on horseback. The Sultans were the first to perceive the need for army reform. Among Oriental peoples and especially in Musalman nations, the reform of institutions always comes from the rulers, and not from the people. Unfortunately the Sultans began their reforms at the wrong end by introducing external changes in dress and equipment, precisely the things which were most offensive to the conservative feelings of the nation. Sultans Mustafá and Selim had themselves no clear idea of the cause of the decay of their military strength; they thought that, if the Janissaries were only dressed and drilled like German and Russian soldiers, they would be equally victorious. The Janissaries and Sipáhis, on their part, shared the rooted objection of the whole nation to the adoption of Christian costume, and in their opposition to it they had the hearty support of the 'Ulmá, or Doctors of the Law.

In spite of their renegade origin, the Janissaries came to be regarded by the 'Ulamá and by the people as the champions of Islam and the Defenders of the Faith against infidel innovations; the sanctity of Hají Bektásh extended to the soldiery on whom his blessing rested, and, in spite of the shameless drunkenness and other vices for which the Janissaries were notorious, the Ojáq was looked upon as a religious as well as a military institution. In Turkish stories the Prophet Khizr appears at one time as "a tall handsome man in the dress of a Sipáhi;" at another time as "a young cook of the Janissaries, with his silver knife and chains of office." The titles and traditions of the Companies were household words throughout the land, and a Turk would travel, from one corner of the empire to another to enrol himself as Yamak in some famous and favourite Ota. The whole Osmani nation was with the soldiery in their resistance to the reforms; and for fifty years there was an obstinate struggle between the reforming Sultans and the mutinous troops. It seems to us now a great pity that the popularity and *esprit de corps* of the Janissaries could not have been utilised in the new organization; that their ancient titles and traditions could not have been preserved, while at the same time discipline was restored and the organization modernised by the expansion of the Otas into battalions and regiments;

but such a change would have required an Oriental Carnot or Scharnhorst to effect it, and no such man was forthcoming in Turkey. And, indeed, the whole machine was probably too hopelessly out of gear to admit the possibility of repair. Sultan Mahmúd had no choice but to make a clean sweep of the whole existing military system, and substitute a new army recruited by conscription on the European plan. Unfortunately the model was too closely followed, and the many good points of the old organizations, the horsemanship, the swordsmanship, the Siláhdar system for the cavalry, were totally sacrificed, and it has been found impossible to restore them. The Turks have ceased to be a military nation. Their Army owes its present efficiency to the labours of German Staff Officers. The days when a Sultán was proud to show himself in the uniform of a subaltern officer of Janissaries have long since passed away in Turkey, where to-day even the very names of Sipáhi and Janissary are almost forgotten.

F. H. TYRRELL,
Lieutenant-General.

ART. III.—THE FIRST GREAT MALAYALAM NOVEL.* (INDEPENDENT SECTION.)

'Tis strange—but true; for truth is always strange, stranger than fiction.—Byron.

IT is the general fashion now-a-days to depreciate the intellectual results of our English system of education. Advocates of University reform, who would fain inaugurate a healthier era by the lifting of the whole aim of the present "Higher Education," swell the chorus of denunciation of existing deficiencies in that system; and draw most gloomy pictures of the educated Indian youth. It is easy to have a fling at the educated Indian: and critics are by no means prone to view things through rose-coloured spectacles. That the Indian has a retentive memory, great power of application, and great acquisitiveness, is generally conceded; but it is laid at his door that he lacks creative talent, maturity of thought and vitality. Unfriendly critics like Sir Lepel Griffin go much further. Not only, they assert, is the native intellect effete, barren and defective as regards originality, but, however much we may cultivate it, the results will be *nil*. Writing of the educated Indian youth, Sir Lepel observes:—"His training is superficial to an extraordinary degree, and although many naturally clever men have passed through the Indian educational mill, I do not remember, in the last quarter of a century, a single original work written by a Native of India which could fairly take rank with productions of the second or even the third class in England. In poetry, natural science, political economy, logic, philosophy, history, fiction, medicine, the intellectual field is barren. Potential depths of originality may be concealed in the Indian people, but so far they have had no external expression. Under the existing system of education in India, which is most jejune, lifeless, and inefficient, there is little hope that the Indian intellect will produce a rich harvest."†

The charge is true, but only in a limited sense. No one denies the fact that, while, on the one hand, the Hindu mind displays abundant receptivity, it shows, on the other hand, no corresponding capacity for production. But if by what is said is meant that the Hindu mind is barren, that even under more favourable circumstances it is incapable of bearing fruit, nothing could be more untrue. For modern India has produced not a few original writers, men remarkable for

* *Indulekha* A Malayalam Novel By O Chandu Menon, F. M. U., Rau Bahadur, Subordinate Judge, Calcut

† *Asiatic Quarterly*, 1887

their high creative talent and genuine originality. To mention but one or two names, Toru Dutt,* the poetess; Lal Behari Day, the author of *Bengal Peasant Life*; and Bankim Chandra Chatterjea, the novelist, are noteworthy examples.

The book under notice, too, affords ample refutation of any such sweeping condemnation as that to which I have referred. Its novel plan of execution, the splendour of its idealism, the wit and humour of its characters, the masterly manner in which the working of deep passion and high emotion and the phenomena of the human mind are delineated, and the easy familiarity shown by the author with the laws governing these—all go to disprove that condemnation. To the foreign reader especially, the book must prove a welcome boon; for it gives him not only a vivid and accurate picture of the peculiar and motley constitution of society in Malabar—the inner life and habits of the people, their strange social customs and domestic observances—but also a clear insight into the mysteries attending their marital relations and the singular intricacies of their joint-family system. Nor is the seasonableness of its publication a less noteworthy fact. The book was issued at a time when the social customs of Malabar were exciting special interest, and occasioning unusual discussion in the public press; and when a bill, which has since been passed into law, as a permissive measure, “to provide a form of marriage for Hindus following the *Marumakkathayam* † law of succession and to provide for the maintenance of the wives and children,” was under conception.

Fastidious correspondents had waxed eloquent over the existing evils, and had condemned them in unmistakable terms as rude, unnatural, and mischievous. Zealous reformers had joined issue on multifarious and sweeping reforms and had bandied words over their favourite hobbies. There was nothing surprising, therefore, in the unusual sensation which the book created, or in its being favourably reviewed‡ by the entire Madras Press. Though not the very first of its kind, it marks a new epoch in the history of the Malayalam language and literature. We have fables and fairy-tales, legends and romances; but of

* In the introduction to her poems, written by Mr. Edmund Gosse, he thus touchingly refers to her early death:—“It is difficult to estimate what we have lost in the premature death of Toru Dutt. Literature has no honours which need have been beyond the grasp of a girl who, at the age of twenty-one, and in languages separated from her own by so deep a chasm, had produced so much of lasting worth. . . . When the history of the literature of our country comes to be written, there is sure to be a page in it dedicated to this fragile exotic blossom of Song.”

† Literally, “Succession by the Sister’s Son.”

‡ In his recently published work on “Indian Literature,” Mr. Fraser gives the book high praise and recognizes Mr. Chandu Menon’s abilities as a writer and a story-teller.

novels, properly so called, we had none. Like the original romance writers, our ancient authors found no charm in simple prose; they should an inordinate and exclusive preference for metre and rhyme. Nor was this their only fault. They chose for their themes wild and improbable events and paid no heed to time, place, or circumstance. And it was likewise the fashion amongst them to give colour to their writings by high-sounding Sanskrit words, foreign to the ordinary reader. Thus it is that the Malayalam language is sadly deficient in prose literature, and works of fiction, as we understand them now, have been hitherto unknown. Hence it was that when educated Malayalees like the author of *Kamakshucharitam*, a version of Shakespeare's *As you like it*, and the clever writer of *Kundalatha**, essayed a new channel, their labours met with no small measure of interest and approval.

This state of things, the appearance of *Induleka* has definitely remedied. It has, once for all, removed any doubt as to the capabilities of the Malayalam language. It has shown, beyond question, that it is quite possible to express in pure and homely Malayalam, ideas and sentiments relating to a foreign civilization and derived from our acquaintance with a foreign literature. It has evinced the truth that that much-abused language may possibly be turned to better and more pleasing purposes than hitherto, and that there is no plea for neglecting it as an antiquated language, as educated Malayalees now-a-days are only too fond of doing. Thus, as the first real Malayalam novel of a Western type, *Induleka* was more than a literary curiosity; it was, in fine, a move in the right direction, an initial step towards supplying a long-felt want.

The book in short, deserves special notice. The author shows unusual skill and perception in his choice of characters, who possess, on the whole, remarkable attractions in their own respective individuality, and are evidently the outcome of keen observation. The girl who is the central figure of the story is a fine, if somewhat vague, creation, and is portrayed as the pure and ideal star of Malayalee maidenhood. Mr. Chandu Menon is obviously a complete master of Nambudri idiosyncrasy. Not content with providing *Induleka*† for our admiration, he has made another claim upon our merriment and sympathy by presenting us to the Nambudripad. Perhaps the chief interest of the book lies in the description of the adven-

* A tale written after the fashion of Sir W. Scott's romances. If *Kundalatha* may be described as the *Pamela* of Malayalam, *Induleka* may be called, with even greater propriety, the *Clarissa Harlowe* of that language.

† Literally, "Moonbeam." This is a name which is rarely, if ever, given to any lady of a Nair family. As a matter of fact, her name was Madhavi, but the appellation is really due to Krishna Menon, who, seeing her growing daily in loveliness, called her *Induleka*, and the name clings to her ever after.

tures of this personage, whose character is distinctly well drawn. He is clear-cut, and he stands out well defined with a strongly marked individuality. For his sake alone, *Induleka* should be read; for in him the author has managed to illustrate the lives of the uneducated section of the Nambudris for us with great fidelity. In the conversation between Lakshmi Kutty and her husband, Kesavan Nambudri, which is a fine combination of fecund, racy humour and queer overt suggestion, the author shows himself no ineffective satirist of the shallowness and superstition of Nambudri folk. The whole conversation is well worth extracting here :—

" ' I s'nt she asleep yet ? ' said Lakshmi Kutty. " The girl reads far too late into the night, and I fancy she will do herself some harm through want of sleep. They say earth-oil light is very bad for the eyes."

" Who told you such nonsense ? " replied Kesavan Nambudri. " As for earth-oil, I suppose you mean Kerosine. That's the proper name. It is first class stuff, and I lately saw the Thread Company's factory lighted throughout with Kerosine lamps. I can't tell you, Lakshmi Kutty, how crowded that place is with people, and I've often wished to take you there to see all the wonders."

" What are all those wonders ? " asked Lakshmi Kutty.

" Heaven help me, but I can't describe them," replied Kesavan Nambudri. The ingenuity of the white men is wonderful, and you'd be astonished, Lakshmi, if you saw it; you wouldn't believe it, but the thing which has made so much noise in the world as a Thread Company is nothing but an iron wheel: It makes all the thread and is driven round and round by nothing but smoke, smoke, nothing but smoke. But this smoke does not, like the smoke which hangs about our fire-places, irritate the eyes and nose and lungs in the least. They have built an enormous tail like a flagstaff over the Company and say it is intended to carry off the smoke. But I have my doubts as to this, and think there must be some magic charm inside it. These white men are too clever to let it out. If there were nothing of the kind, would the iron Company and pins move as if they heard the word of command? No, there must be some charm about it."

" Can't any of you find out what the charm is ? " asked Lakshmi Kutty.

" If I asked the Engineer, he would shoot me. No, No ! We can't think of asking him anything," said Kesavan Nambudri. " But if any of us went there, he would take us near the machine and rap out one lie after another. Even a child would not be taken in by what he says, but we daren't show in the least that we don't believe him. On the contrary we pretend that we are quite convinced."

" With all respect to you," replied Lakshmi Kutty, " I think this story about the smoke turning the machine is a mistake. Induleka told me some things a few days ago about the railway train. She said that all machines of this kind are worked by the power of steam, and that smoke has no power in itself. She explained amongst other things that there is no smoke without fire, and that we simply see smoke where fire is, but that, beyond this fact, smoke in itself is of no use."

* From Mr. Dumergue's English Translation of the novel.

"Ah, that may be so in the case of railway trains," said Kesavan Numbudri, "but all the same, it is smoke, that drives the Thread Company round. I am certain, too that there's some magic power inside that flagstaff. I have no doubt of it. Madhavan or Govinda-Kutty must have been palming off some tales on Induleka. The white men never tell these innocents the exact truth, but cram them with some cock-and-bull-story, which the simpletons implicitly believe and repeat to women and such like. They never tell the real secret, or, if they do, it is only to those that go over to their religion and put on hats like theirs.

"I am not so sure of that," said Lakshmi Kutty. "There is really no power in smoke."

"Don't say so," answered Kesavan Nambudri. "There really is some power in smoke. For instance, do you mean to say that the smoke of a sacrifice has no power? Here is also another point I am not certain about, and I suspect, that in this case, there is some sort of sacrifice going on to gain the favour of some deities. There must be some image or magic circles inside that flagstaff—who knows? Then this sacrifice must be most acceptable to those deities, and it must be their favour which sends the Company round! Who can tell, except Vishnu himself?"

More than one critic has suggested that the author's presentment of the central figure is vague and unimpressive. It might, perhaps, with some justice be remarked that, "if his hero and heroine walk upon stilts as heroes and heroines, I fear, ever must, their attendant satellites are as natural as though one met them in the street: they walk and talk like men and women, and live among our friends a rattling lively life." Indeed, the authors' minor characters are veritable flesh and blood, and highly interesting. Each is an agreeable study in itself.

We proceed to give a brief description of the plot and the subject matter. The scene opens in a Nair *tarawad*, in a part of the country at once pleasant and interesting. Poovally House, situated in a charming spot on the borders of Malabar, is the seat of an old and noble family of the Native State of Cochin. The family, which has for a long course of years furnished many of the highest officials of the State, is both distinguished and affluent. Panchu Menon, the present *Karnaven*, whose way of life is passing into the sear and yellow leaf, is a simple, kind-hearted gentleman of the old school, but a man of unbridled temper, with fiery eyes and a savage countenance, ever determined to demand, but never prepared to concede. His eldest Son, Kochu Krishna Menon, who has had the benefits of an English education and was a *Dewan Peushkar*, died some time ago; and the father, in his sad bereavement, has learned to seek consolation in lavishing his affections upon his son's pet niece, his own granddaughter, Induleka, so called on account of her great beauty,

* Anthony Trollope.

who has thus golden opportunities afforded her—opportunities which she is careful not to throw away—of advancing the education so favourably begun under the auspices of her deceased uncle. Induleka, the heroine, is a Nair lady of great personal charms and comeliness of figure. The daughter of one of the Kilimanur Chieftains, she is a pearl among women. Our author thus describes her :—

“ * Her skin resembled so closely in colour the golden border of the embroidered robe which, fastened round her waist, draped her limbs in the usual Malayalee fashion, that it was impossible to distinguish the one from the other by sight. Her hair, black as the raven's wing, was soft, long and luxuriant, and, except possibly among the fair ladies of Europe, rich red lips like hers were never seen. Her eyes were long and the colours therein were clearly defined, while only those who had felt the lightning of her glances could know how deeply they burned into the hearts of men. At the time of which I write, her bust was well-developed and her bosom rivalled the purest gold, but it would be impossible for any pen to do justice to the countless charms which united in making Induleka a peerless beauty, and I am fain here to confess that none can describe the joy, the extacy, the raptures of those, who, spell-bound with delight, beheld her golden complexion, pearly teeth and coral lips, her eyes that shamed the dark waterlily, her glossy black hair and slender waist.”

Induleka's mental attainments and amiability of character are not unworthy of her external appearance. A woman of considerable accomplishments and high culture, she is a distinguished Sanskrit scholar and has received a sound liberal English education. She is likewise of eminent attainments in her own native tongue. Nor is she devoid of those personal charms and finer susceptibilities which are the pride and the glory of her sex. Her social virtues are of no mean order. She is naturally of a robust frame of mind, and her varied and extensive studies have served to elevate and ennoble her nature. A woman of no small aesthetic taste, it is her special care to love and cherish the fine arts. Skilled in vocal music, she plays with the utmost ease on the violin, the Indian lute, and the piano. She can, moreover, paint a portrait, work in silk or embroidery, or even outwit at pleasure an antagonist at chess. Her daily occupations and habits are as profitable as her natural temperament is agreeable. She does not in the least forget her position in life as a Malayalee lady because she has studied English. She punctually observes caste rituals, is not inordinately fond of jewelry, and, in other respects, is a never-failing source of wonder and admiration to her associates. Madhava, the hero, is a cultured young man of great attainments and ability. He is a Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Law, who obtains a subordinate situation in the Madras

Secretariat. A good face, it is said, is a perpetual letter of recommendation ; and Madhava's handsome face, manly presence and noble appearance have served him often in good stead.

* "The fame which he had acquired by an uninterrupted series of triumphs in the schools clearly and fully proclaimed the rare talents with which he was endowed. . . . His preeminence in various school examinations had obtained for him many prizes and scholarships, founded for the encouragement of learning, and all his tutors firmly declared that none of their pupils ever surpassed Madhavan in mental power and aptitude. With regard to his external appearance, all who knew Madhavan were of opinion that nature had indeed provided in his form and features a fitting habitation for an intelligence so exceptional. . . . His complexion was like refined gold. . . . His sinewy arms and legs, which were neither too massive nor too meagre, looked as if they had been fashioned in gold. His flowing locks, when loosened from the knot in which they were usually tied according to the Malayalee fashion, hung down to his knees. . . . All Europeans who made Madhavan's acquaintance were fascinated by him at first sight, and thenceforward remained his friends."

He is an ardent athlete, and fond of games and manly exercises. A desperate huntsman and a good shot, he has a craving weakness for the chase.

Our heroine has now reached the prime of her youth ; and her old playmate and cousin, Madhava, is fast advancing from early adolescence to vigorous manhood. Their former association has promoted their present companionship, which, as days go on, strengthens their attachment. They pass the hours in innocent pleasures and amusement together ; and the friendship between them gradually ripens into maturity and kindles into a passionate glow. In the course of time the cousins are in love with each other, but neither reveals it by sign or token. Love for the other dawns in the bosom of each, but neither dares to break the ice to the other. "Induleka conceals her passion, lest she should place a stumbling-block in the path of Madhavan's studies, and Madhavan's reticence, due at first to bashfulness, next arises from diffidence of success in his suit." This diffidence is not unreasonable, for many princes and nobles of the land have now been suitors for Induleka's hand, including no less exalted a person than the Sovereign of Travancore. Madhavan and Madhavi, however, seem to have suspected each other's intention, and both are sick at heart as to the issue of their love. Many long and weary days of pleasant suspense and anxious delight thus pass away ; but in the end, Madhava's constant and earnest importunities prevail. No longer able to meet her lover's advances with steady un-

concern, Induleka throws off her mental reserve, and, moved by a sudden impulse, at once discloses her great secret. We are swept along without a pause on the current of this striking and powerful narrative of the love and courtship of Madhava—"who becomes first her companion and friend, gets gradually closer and closer in friendship, and finally falls in love with her, adoring her as the source of all his happiness in this world"—a narrative which is the product of a strenuous and sustained imaginative effort. It goes very straight to the roots of human passion and emotion, and, in its forceful directness and intensity of interest, is as fine in its way as anything in Indian fictional literature.

About this time, however, there happens an untoward event which threatens to frustrate all their hopes. Madhava displeases his uncle, and to be in the latter's bad books is to bid farewell to his heart's fondest dream. Here it may be well to state that, according to the *Marumakkathayam* law of inheritance, the *tarawad* property is, in theory, common alike to all the members of the family. It is vested in the hands of the *Karnaven*, who is the virtual head of the family, and who exercises supreme control over its management. The latter is thus all-powerful in his own sphere. The right of the other members is in truth, as Mayne says, "only a right to be maintained in the family-house, so long as that house is capable of holding them." Again, "the scale of expenditure to be adopted, and its distribution amongst the members, is a matter wholly within the discretion of the *Karnaven*." The junior members are entitled only to maintenance and residence. They have no choice either of the duties they are to perform, or of the share of the profits they are to receive. Succession is regulated in the female line of descent, and so there are often in the family members who are but the hundredth remove from its chief. Now there lives in Poovally House, a boy of nine years who is kept at home and never sent to school. Madhava, wishes that Panju Menon should pay for the little boy's schooling, but that narrow-minded old patriarch of seventy does not agree with his * *anandraven's* views, whereupon high words pass between the old *Karnaven* and the young graduate. To Panchu Menon naturally Madhava's independence appears like impertinence of the worst kind; and the latter's remonstrance with him regarding the education of the little boy Shinnan so far incenses the old man that he begins to repent of his folly in having at all given

* The joint family among Nairs is called the *tarawad*, the senior male member of which is called the *karnaven*. The junior members of the family are styled *Anandravens*; all, male and female, have a right to be supported in the family house and the males have a right to succeed to the headship by seniority.

his young *anandraven* an English education. Madhava, too, is exasperated at Panchu Memon's conduct, for that honest, brave young man detested his *Karnaven's* partiality for his direct *anandravens*. Panchu Menon would have spent any amount of money in educating Shinfan, if the boy had been a direct *anandraven* of his, like Madhava; but the boy (though in truth he has as good a right to be educated at *tarawad* expense as Madhava, or any other member of the *tarawad*), happens to be a distant relation of Panju Menon's, and, as not unfrequently is the case in Malabar *tarawads*, the old, ignorant, self-willed *karnavens* educate only their direct nephews and bring up their distant *anandravens* as agriculturists or as servant boys in the *tarawad* house. Such conduct on Panchu Menon's part, the high-spirited and honest Madhava considers extremely reprehensible and shameful.

He consequently speaks to his *karnava* on the subject very strongly, with no very great reverence for the latter's high position in the *tarawad*. This sets the uncle and his nephew by the ears, and the latter, in utter defiance of the opposition of the former, carries the boy off with him to Madras, there to give him an education. This has the effect of the proverbial red rag on the bull. Panchu Menon is exceedingly wrath, and, in an outburst of an anger, he swears upon his family Goddess, that never in his life will he give Induleka in marriage to Madhava. For this purpose, and with a view to be revenged on Madhava, our Hector invites a rich Nambudripad to Poovally House to make love to our heroine.

Casual observers are led to believe that, while it requires all the creative genius of a peculiarly gifted mind to raise an ideal and to exhibit an image of all that is great and good in man, it is, on the other hand, a comparatively easy and by no means arduous task to paint the reverse of this picture. The sublime and the ridiculous are, as Thomas Paine very aptly remarks, "often so nearly related that it is difficult to class them separately. One step above the sublime makes the ridiculous, and one step above the ridiculous makes the sublime again." This being so, it is obvious, that, to portray with any amount of success the droll and vulgar side of human nature; to give life spirit, form, colour, to the lower passions and weaknesses of man, requires a high order of creative talent, and implies a keen and delicate sense of discrimination. Such qualities our author evidently possesses in no stinted measure, for of all the motley band of court fools and pantaloons one meets with in comic shows or burlesque pantomines, the Nambudripad stands adequate comparison with the dullest or the most witless. He is at once a pedant, a buffoon, and a blusterer. His equine features, his hobbling gait, his sunken nose, his awkward mouth,

his apish laughter, harmonise admirably with his temperament. A senseless dullard and a half-idiot, he mistakes the very critics who laugh at him for his admirers. A votary of the *beau monde*—a veritable Beau Tibbs—he fancies himself the favoured pet of the fair sex. A thorough-going coxcomb and a confirmed rake, he is the very soul of dishonour. When he talks, he talks nonsense, and makes himself the laughing-stock of his hearers. Benares, according to this friend of Mrs. Malaprop, is 'Bankrass' (a country thousands of miles South-west of Europe, and not unlike Iceland in point of physical peculiarities); a Mudaliyar is a "Motala," or alligator; McDonald, he pronounces "Mekha denton," and McIntosh "Makshawman." An untrained and illiterate man, he possesses only the advantages which spring from the possession of rank and riches.* "What is there in this vale of life half so delightful as carnal pleasure," seems to be the motto of this wise man of Gotham, this fair Adonis of forty-five. Ever breathing the enervating atmosphere of twaddling flattery, ever surrounded by the adulatory incense of dissolute female worshippers, the Nambudripad has come to look upon himself as a veritable Cupid upon earth whose sight could not fail to captivate the heart of even the most virtuous woman.

"The Kanazhi + Mārki Natha house, famous throughout Malabar, was unequalled in point of wealth and dignity, and Sui Nambudripad was the second member of that rich and powerful family. . . . There was nothing remarkable in his features, and probably there are thousands of men who bear a general resemblance to him in Malabar; but it must be noted that in certain respects his face and deportment were peculiar. When he laughed, his mouth stretched from ear to ear, his nose, though not deformed, was far too small for his face, and, instead of walking, he hopped like a crow. . . . As is usually the case with plutocrats, who are devoid of ordinary knowledge and education, this individual had conceived an immense opinion of himself. Astounding fool as he was, he was fully persuaded by the agents whom he employed, that he was a most efficient man of business.

Deluged continually with flattery, the simpleton was firmly convinced of his own greatness and, swallowing implicitly all manner of nonsense concerning the beauty of his person attired by artful and unscrupulous courtisans, who longed only for his money, he strutted and plumed himself in the conceit that he really possessed the qualities ascribed to him. "My prince," said a woman to him once, "I, your thrall, could not live an instant without gazing on your celestial form," and the words were impressed on his mind as indelibly as if carved in stone. 'Oh, my prince!' sighed another woman, 'the bliss of your heavenly embrace is itself all too great for me, your slave. Who cares for money? Anyone may have that, but can I find anyone with so divine a form as

* His opulence, in fact, is his sole recommendation. "At his place even the elephant's chains are made of gold" as the ladies of Poovally House and the wags in the Brahmin refectory and the bathing shed expressively put it.

† Mr. Dumergue's Translation.

yours ?" And, he stored the saying up in his mind as if it were a passage from the Vedas."

Apart from the role of a gay Lothario which the Nambudripad plays in the story, the character is of special interest : for Suri Nambudripad is but the living type of a class of men proverbial in Malabar for the depth of their folly, their utter moral depravity, and the thoroughly superstitious lives they lead. There are, of course, honourable exceptions, and men like Govindan Nambudii (the astute friend and counsellor of our abandoned hero) are no solitary instances, but represent a large and remarkable minority. Indeed, the eccentricities and oddities of the libidinous and fickle-minded Nambudripad serve but to set off and bring out in stronger relief the wit and estimable qualities of Cherushevi Nambudii, who is introduced in company with the former. The shrewdness, the sound sense, and the high sense of propriety of Cherushevi are admirably contrasted with the character of the grotesque and farcical Suri Nambudripad. While the sentiments of Govindan Nambudri are pure, manly and elevated, his manners chaste and his tastes simple, those of the Nambudripad are low, vulgar, profligate and reprehensible. There is, however, no section of the Hindu community which is so generally regarded with veneration and honour as are the Nambudripads and Nambudris* in Malabar. And perhaps not a few of them are noted for the purity and the simplicity of their lives—are great repositories of Vedic lore and men of marked wit and considerable Sanskrit learning.

Such is our heroine's gallant suitor, and such are his manifold accomplishments.

But to return to the story. The Nambudripad receives the welcome note inviting him to Poovally House, and is beside himself with joy. Anxious and impatient, he indulges in delightful reveries concerning Induleka's person and his own good luck, builds a thousand and one pretty castles in the air, sends for his friend Govindan Nambudii, who has before seen Induleka, and puts him a hundred questions, all more or less connected with the latter's handsome features. . . . and the probable success of his suit. He mentions the names of a hundred women, and, as he mentions them, enquires of his friend whether Induleka is more beautiful, or as beautiful as this, that or the other woman. The very next day the inconsiderate dandy embarks on his wild-geese-chase. He sets out in all his savage magnificence, dressed in all the paraphernalia of an Eastern despot, with golden palanquins and a brilliant retinue.

* The Nambudries are the native Bruhmins of Malabar, as distinguished from Patters, Iyais and others, who though permanently settled in the country, seem to have immigrated at a later date. According to the relic of an ancient feudal system, the former are the *jennies* or landlords of the country, whose vassals the Nairs are.

The grand procession with all its attendant pageantry, the commotion and uproar produced at Poovally House and in the neighbourhood by the Nambudripad's arrival, the gorgeous spectacle presented by the Nambudripad in his golden habiliments and decorated in thorough oriental fashion from head to foot, the surprise and curiosity of the beholders on seeing this golden illusion, the side-glances that the Nambudripad casts occasionally in clear consciousness of his greatness and splendour, the talk and discussion amongst the common people in and around Chembhazhiyot Poovally—all these are so clearly and vividly portrayed with such enjoyable humour, such extraordinary skill and artistic perfection, that the interest of the reader is never allowed to flag. Here is a picture of the whole scene to the mind's eye :—

* The scene of excitement which now ensued almost baffles description. The palanquin was carried by eight, and the litter by six bearers, while the men who relieved them in turns ran beside them, and all were ordered to strike up their monotonous strain. Fourteen of them had to echo and re-echo the same note, while three or four who led the way chimed in with their *Heigh Hu; Ho, Ho, Heigh Hu*. This peculiar chant was regarded as the special prerogative of the Nambudripad, and in this fashion the palanquin was borne with noisy pomp into the courtyard. . . . All the itinerant Brahmins, who had finished their repast and were taking a siesta in the rest-house, started up at the commotion and the shouts which warned the vulgar herd to keep their distance. . . . Running out and tying up their hair as they ran, they occupied in dense masses every available place on the banks and steps of the tank. "Hallo! What is this? Who on earth is it! Are we in for an earthquake!", they cried, and in fact, all who lived round about Chembhazhiyot and Poovally could not have been more madly excited if an earthquake had happened. . . . As soon as the palanquin reached the courtyard, Kesavan Nambudri opened its doors, and forthwith there leaped out of it a golden effigy. Its head was covered by a gold coloured hat, and its body was clad in a gold-coloured robe. Gold was the colour of its garments throughout, and on its feet were sabots studded with gold. Gold rings were on all the ten fingers, and, as though this were not enough, it was enveloped over and above the robe in a cloak all golden in colour, and carried in its hand a small girden mirror to be frequently consulted. There was gold, gold, nothing but gold to be seen, and as the Nambudripad alighted from this palanquin in the glare of the midday sun, the rays of light which darted from him may be better imagined than described. Standing there, he seemed to be surrounded with a halo of golden gleams, and Panchu Menon thought to himself, as soon as he saw the sight, "Ah, ha! Kesavan Nambudri is right. Induleka will jump at him. There can't be any doubt about it." . . . As the Nambudripad descended from the palanquin, the eyes of the bystanders were dazzled for a moment with the yellow glare of all this golden tinsel, and a silence fell on the crowd. Fully assured in his own mind that all were dumb-founded at the sight of his gorgeous attire, the Nambudripad stood still for some seconds in the sunlight, though it cannot be said that he stood idle, because he cast two or three furtive glances

* Mr. Dumergue's Translation.

upwards in his own peculiar manner, to see if Induleka was anywhere in the entrance to the verandah. Then Panchu Menon and Kesavan Nambudri showed the way deferentially with their hands and conducted the golden puppet into the verandah, where they installed him in a huge chair provided for the occasion.

Presently, the Nambudripad is introduced to Induleka in her cosy boudoir by her poor step-father, the artless and good-natured Kesavan Nambudri. She treats him courteously, but with her natural firmness, triumphantly resists his seductions to overcome the promptings of her heart in favour of Madhava. The interviews between Induleka and the Nambudripad—how, at the very sight of her, the latter is struck dumb and lost in hopeless bewilderment ; how, in the conversations that ensue, the Nambudripad turns out a veritable coxcomb ; how, with her usual tact and ready repartee, Induleka courteously combats and successfully repels his empty seductions and impertinent advances ; how, defeated at every point and utterly crestfallen, the Nambudripad is plunged in grief and bewails his misfortune ; and how even the sight of the very maids in the house completely confounds and overwhelms him ; his wedding, at last, with a poor lamb-like creature, a niece of Panchu Menon's ; the grand victorious march homeward with the bride, and the artful manner in which our haughty gallant spreads a false rumour on the road to the effect that the girl is Induleka—are all depicted with the exuberance of a poet's humour, and form "an absolute plethora of witty allusion and sarcastic reflection."

Madhava next appears on the scene. He is returning from Madras, bent upon marrying Induleka, in spite of the old patriarch's opposition. On his way home to Poovally House, at one of the Brahminical lodges, not far from the Railway Station, in which boiled rice is sold, he is suddenly informed of the alleged marriage of his dear betrothed. The news is more than Madhava can bear. Struck, as if by lightning, he is for a moment still and motionless. Every joint in his body wrings with agony as if he were placed "under the spell of a powerful electric current." Pale as death, petrified, benumbed, his whole frame is "scared to the core and his face distorted like that of the fabled King Nala when bitten by the serpent." In another minute he is plunged in deep thought. While in a state of profound indecision and writhing anxiety, he sees his friend Sankar Sastri. They retire to a neighbouring grove, and the latter confirms the story which Madhava has already heard. In hopeless despair and great agony of mind, the unfortunate Madhava comes down. He leaves hearth and home, a miserable exile, and immediately starts on a long journey. He goes straight to Bombay, embarks on board the steamship for Calcutta, makes a long tour in Bengal and Northern India, is roh-

bed of his things *en route* by a clever Mahomedan rogue, who represents himself as the Sub-Judge of Allahabad, and, after a few such incidents and adventures, finally joins his friend, Keshub Chunder Sen, in Bombay. Here, at the residence of the latter, Madhava meets his father, Govinda Panikar, and Induleka's maternal uncle, his cousin, Govindakully Menon, a full blown B. A., who had set out in pursuit of him. He returns with them to Malabar, and his restoration to his Madhavi and the consequent solemnization of their nuptials with *eclat*—Panchu Menon yielding, under pressure of circumstances, retracting his oath and performing *prayaschita* * for the same—form the closing events of the story. Our hero (at the instance of his friend and patron, Mr. Gilham of the Chief Secretariat) is soon Gazetted a statutory Civilian, and is represented as still living in perfect happiness with Induleka and two children.

It is impossible, in the space devoted to an article like the present, to make any elaborate or lengthy observations on the general characteristics of the book under review. Nor do we feel that there is much which the Press has left unsaid. But, in the eloquent words of the *Hindu*, we may remark before concluding, "in his truly humorous conceptions, in his delineation of the several episodes and strokes of character, which are truly touching, in his power of affecting the heart while exciting the sense of the ludicrous, as displayed in the confusion and anxiety of Kesavan Nambudri, in his admirable contrast between Chatter Menon and his brother Gopalan, in his reference to the petty presumptuousness of Cheenoo Patter, in the ingenious manner in which he puts into the mouth of Kesavan Nambudri, the crude and foolish theories so commonly understood and expressed by the average Nambudri as to the properties of steam and the working of the steam-engine, and of the latter's supreme distrust of the Englishman, Mr. Chandu Menon gives abundant proof of his extensive command over the language, of his superior descriptive power, of his keen penetration into the internal mechanisms of the passions and nature of man, and of his skill and originality, all of which any of his countrymen might well envy."

The eighteenth chapter in the book has been much objected to. It is a long discussion between Govinda Panikar, an intelli-

* The ceremony of atonement, in this instance a penance is prescribed by the avaricious Brahmin priests for their own good, as follows :—You must have gold or silver models made of each letter in every word you used when you took your oath. These you must present to Brahmins learned in the Vedas, on the same day you must provide a general feast for Brahmins in the temple, and you must make offerings of rice and fruit to the priests. The oath can be broken without the least sin and the expiation will be most perfect if the letters are modelled in gold, but if this is impossible, silver will serve.

gent but non-English-knowing Malayalee of the old school, and Madhavan and Govindakutty, the two graduates, and reads like a long formal dissertation on the Vedas, the National Congress, atheism and so forth. Apart from its abrupt opening, "it is purely an abstract discussion, having no part whatever in the development of the story." In our judgment, it is out of place in the work, and (forming as it does one-fifth of the whole book) had best be omitted by the author in his next edition.

"It is not even a dialogue really, but two or three lectures by the two graduates, each ranging through thirty or forty pages. No conclusion is come to on the question of the existence of God; but we have translations from the works of Bradlaugh, Spencer, Huxley, &c. On the Congress the author looks with sympathy, but considers that the criticisms of Sir Auckland Colvin were quite to the point and pointed to some dangers in the Congress movement."

The contrast between the opinions of the two graduates is most effectively brought out and forms in itself a fitting satire on the general defects of our present system of University Education. While the views and sentiments of Madhava are moderate, sound, and in perfect accord with the times, while his understanding is matured and his judgment sober, his friend, who is fresh from College, is a sentimentalist and an enthusiast, and full of radical, perverse, and revolutionary ideas.

The author's minor scenes and characters exhibit infinite variety, wit, and ingenuity. Nor are his incidental episodes less interesting. Some of the events are extremely probable, others are based on truth, or drawn from life. The author possesses abundant and acute powers of description. The imposing appearance of the Apollo Bunder at Bombay, the vivid likeness of the magnificent *Amravathy* mansion—a veritable palace of *Armidia*—in the City of Palaces, where the merchant kings, the hospitable Sen brothers, welcome and receive our self-banished hero, the goodness and amiability of the Bengalee character, and the arbitrary ways of the Bengal Police, the social life and customs of Malabar, its peculiar *tarawad* system and the singular observances of its people (as for example, the *prayaschita* performed by Panchu Menon to propitiate the family goddess); the delineation of the characters of various kinds of Malayalee folk; the interview * between Suri Nambudripad and Mrs. McIntosh; the incident in the

*This interview is such an eccentrically humorous one, that it is well worth quotation:—

"I had great fun lately" said the Nambudripad, and if you would like to hear it, I will tell you:—I went the other day to see Mr. McSharman and talk over this case, the matter of the Cardamom Hills. When I went there his wife, whose name Govindau told me was Madam, was sitting on a chair at a little distance from him reading a paper, and from the time I

Calcutta Park, and the scene at the Railway Station—all these are portrayed with a lively imagination, a dramatic force and felicity of conception seldom surpassed in the literature of this or any other Dravidian language. A remarkable dream of Induleka's gives the author an opportunity, which he cleverly seizes, of making some very ingenious reflections on the fulfilment of dreams.

One word more and we have done. It has been said that portions of the book are "coarse"; that Induleka's character is "vaguely drawn"; that the eighteenth chapter is out of place; that English is no necessary part of a Nair lady's education; that Kalianikutty has been brought down like a *deus ex machina* to dispose of the Nambudripad; that Madhavi's pet name, Induleka, with all the apologies of the author, has a tinge of the unnatural about it; that the story is lacking in plot interest; that the author who has simply

took my seat near her husband until it was time for me to go away, she kept glancing at me out of the corner of her eye.'

"No doubt she was fascinated by you," interposed Cherasheri Nambudri. "The sheep's eyes she made at you showed clearly she was infatuated, and could not help herself."

"Wait a bit," continued the Nambudripad. "I don't know whether McSharman at last saw her looking at me or not, but he said something to her in English and laughed, and Madam answered him and laughed too. Then that idiot McSharman, without understanding how matters stood, said, 'I want to introduce my wife to you. I hope you will allow me the pleasure.' I felt much inclined to smile, but I didn't, and, restraining myself, said, I should be delighted. Then McSharman got up hastily, and, bringing his wife, placed her near me. I didn't get up, so she sat down beside me. Then she stretched out her hand towards me as the gentleman had done, and I stretched out mine, and Madam caught hold of my hands and I felt goose skin all over me."

"She must have felt it more," interrupted Cherasheri Nambudri.

"Wait a bit," said the Nambudripad. "Madam stood for some time holding my hand in hers, and I thought her very buxom. That good McSharman stood by looking on at all this and grinning. Then I drew a diamond ring off my little finger and held it in my hand. I was not sure if McSharman would be pleased, so I looked at his face. All at once the idiot said, 'Oh! I see you want to give my wife a present. I've no objection: You may give it.' Then I felt cocksure of every thing, and put the ring into Madam's hand. She took it and, looking in my face, laughed and said in English that it was a lovely ring. McSharman translated this, and then I can't tell you, Cherasheri, how I tingled all over."

"She must have tingled much more," said Cherasheri Nambudri.

"Wait a bit," replied the Nambudripad. "Madam rose from her place, again stretched out her hand to me."

"That was a decided sign that she was smitten with you," said Cherasheri Nambudri. "She couldn't bear to sit still and look at you. She immediately got up and went away, didn't she?"

"Yes," said the Nambudripad. "She went away after taking my hand."

"And you didn't see her again, did you?"

"No."

"She must have been regularly taken by storm, said Cherasheri.

put together a few of the main features of Malabar social life, has made no attempts to weave them into an interesting story, that "the quarrel between Madhava and his grand-uncle Panchu Menon hardly went to such an extent as to create any fears regarding the ultimate destinies of the hero and heroine," and more to the same effect. But these are individual opinions, and should be judged upon their merits. It is not for us to say that there are no faults, no flaws in the book ; but we are strongly of opinion that the good outweighs the evil ; in fact that the evil sinks into insignificance beside the good. But it is just because the book is so extraordinarily good that it ought to be better, ought to be more of a serious whole than a mere brilliant display of fire works, though each firework display has more genius in it than is to be found in ninety-nine out of every hundred books supposed to contain that rare quality. It possesses, too, this great merit, that it not only contains a number of pictures of Malabar social life drawn with photographic faithfulness, but it reflects at the same time the habits, modes of life and ideas of the middle and higher classes of the population of Malabar Nairs of high and low social status, Nambudris of different position, Putter Brahmins etc.—better than do systematic and more pretentious works. There is a force and a charm, a vividness and an originality about these social sketches which gives them a high, if not the highest, place in the literature of that kind which has been produced in our midst in the last few years. Not only is there

"The gentleman was with you all the time, wasn't he? That's why she was at her wit's end, and left you so hurriedly, or she would have had some sweet conversation with you."

"You are really a clever man, Cherasheri' said the Nambudripad, "and this is the bond of friendship between us. What you say is quite right. That lady and I were greatly smitten with each other. As for not following up my advantage, we are forbidden by the Shastras to form connections with women of that race. There was no other difficulty in my way."

"Don't do anything forbidden by the Shastras," said Cherasheri. "My admiration is beyond all bounds when I think of your good sense. Although you had taken such a fancy to her, you gave it up because it was forbidden by the Shastras, and this shows your moral courage."

"Sometimes I can show great moral courage in all such matters," said the Nambudripad. "I bamboozled Koppatta Kummini once finely. Shall I tell you the story?"

"I heard you tell it the other day, and I remember it well," said Cherasheri. "It was from that time that I had such an opinion of your great moral courage."

"Ah, but the colour of these white women is fine," said the Nambudripad. "What is Induleka's colour?"

"Like pure gold."

"Is it better than mine?"

"Why do you ask such a nonsensical question? Your colour, Nambudri, is quite unique."

genius in the presentation of some of the human types which are described, but they display a closeness of observation and a keenness of insight into the heart of things which only those who have studied modern Malabar in the making can appreciate. The truth of the statement, "merely to invent a story is no small effort of the understanding," is as generally admitted today as it was in the days of Dr. Johnson; and if *Induleka* is not conformable to the variable conditions and complicated relations of modern Malayalee society, if it inflames the reader's imagination or vitiates his taste, it combines instruction with amusement, is free from tedious detail or vulgar idiom, and is but "truth severe, by fairy fiction drest."

The free diffusion of popular literature is a potent influence for the good of society, and it is to be hoped, therefore, that to a people in whose midst the sacred institution of marriage is but a delusion, and the ignorance of women the most pressing evil, the book will prove of the utmost value. It is, in its way, not only an effective and well-aimed satire on the shams and snobbishness of Nambudri folk, but also the most tremendous all-round cannonade to which some of the more glaring of our social evils (such as the laxity of the marriage-tie and the *Tarawad* system) have been subjected. It is written with a purpose—which is chiefly to impress on the author's fellow-countrymen "the advantage which would accrue if the women of India were given the same privileges of education that are enjoyed by the men."

The book is written in a simple, chaste and conversational style; its language is colloquial and idiomatic, and the few Sanskrit words here and there employed are such as can be understood by any ordinarily educated Malayalee. "I have made no attempt" writes Mr. Chandu Menon "to abandon, in favour of a style modelled on pure Sanskrit, the diction of Malayalees conversing in Malayalam." Indeed, he has quitted the well-worn track, paved with plagiarism . . . and the language of *Induleka* is the living Malayalam of the present day.

The author sets forth, in a private letter, the reasons which have induced him to write this work. The reader will excuse our reproducing them here. They are as follow :—

"First, my wife's oft-expressed desire to read in her own language a novel written after the English fashion, and secondly, a desire on my own part to try whether I should be able to create a taste amongst my Malayalee readers, not conversant with English, for that class of literature represented in the English language by novels, of which at present they (accustomed as they are to read and admire works of fiction in Malayalam abounding in events and incidents foreign to

nature and often absurd and impossible) have no idea, and to see whether they could appreciate a story that contains only such facts and incidents as may happen in their own households under a given state of circumstances—to illustrate to my Malayalee brethren the position, power and influence that our Nair women, who are noted for their natural intelligence and beauty, would attain in society, if they are given a good English education; and finally—to contribute my mite towards the improvement of Malayalam literature, which, I regret to observe, is fast dying out by disuse as well as by abuse."

If the author had even only partially succeeded in any one of these, his laudable objects, he would undoubtedly have deserved well of his countrymen. We know how much in the way of national reformation, whether social, political or literary, has been achieved in European countries by popular writers like Dickens, Ouida, Voltaire, Victor Hugo and a host of others; that there is a strong deterrent principle embodied in the free diffusion of healthy, popular literature, cannot be denied; its importance can never be over-estimated. The book will no doubt be interesting and instructive to all Malayalee readers. It can be understood by all and enjoyed by all. A second edition of *Induleka*—1,500 copies—appeared immediately after the first edition. As for readers other than Malayalee, we may mention that Mr. G. W. F. Dumergue of the Madras Civil Service, formerly Collector of Malabar and sometime Malayalam Translator to Government, has, with Mr. Chandu Menon's permission, translated (and translated excellently too) the work into the English language

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR.

ART. IV.—A PILGRIM VOYAGE IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

(Continued from July 1899 No. 217.)

KAMORIN.

IF you take up an atlas you will see on the Eastern coast of the Red Sea a tiny speck underlined with a pink line which betokens a British possession. This is the Island of Kamorin, which is used by the Turkish Government as a quarantine station for pilgrims coming from the South. It is an arid, barren spot, a few square miles in area, possessed of nothing but sand, coral and officials.

Although the prospect was not inviting, after five consecutive weeks on voyage, a thrill of pleasure ran through the ship's company when the anchor dropped with a splash into the clear water of the Red Sea, and the monotonous rhythm of the engine ceased. The deep blue waters here spread into an open bay. Not two hundred yards from the anchorage, the waves rippled on a coral reef which extended some distance out to sea. Beyond the long stretch of water the low sandhills of the mainland of Arabia twinkled through a purple haze which blended softly with the deep blue of the rainless sky and deeper blue of the smooth sea.

Here and there on the coast line white heaps sparkled in the sunshine, like tents in a soldier's camp. Near the distant coast an antiquated steamer lay at anchor awaiting her cargo. We afterwards learnt that the white heaps were stacks of salt which, in this rainless country, is prepared by the evaporation of sea water in salt-pans, and is shipped crude, but profitably, to the Indian market.

In front lay the low parched sands of Kamorin, fringed with coral reefs. The island was a dreary waste of sunburnt yellow sand upon which no sign of vegetation could be seen from the ship. In a narrow inlet two Turkish gun-boats, dilapidated and dirty, lay at anchor. The vessels of war sadly needed fresh paint and holy-stone. Beyond the gun-boats a few huts clustered round a white-washed building on the roof of which fluttered the Turkish flag.

By way of salute, a gun was fired from a gun-boat, and the "Arabia" answered by blowing a blast on her whistle, and dipping the red flag of the mercantile marine.

The pilgrims grew very excited and clambered about the ropes and awnings of the ship like caged monkeys. They shouted and yelled to the boats which collected round the ship

directly after the dropping of the anchor. The jolly-boat was lowered from the davitts, and, in company with the captain, I started ashore with the bill of health and ship's papers beneath my arm. The big red flag of the mercantile marine waved above us in the stern-seat of the boat, and dragged lightly on the wash of the waters. The boat passed under the stern of the Turkish gun-boat lying at two anchors. The hopeless disorder of the vessel was apparent. The cross-trees were askew and many of the halliards broken. Dirty bits of sail peeped out from dirtier sail-covers. The old hulk would have been a disgrace to the whale trade.

A shabbily dressed Turk showed his fez above the rail and looked at us in silent curiosity. I fancy he was the man who fired the gun on our arrival, for otherwise the gun-boat appeared deserted.

We could not mistake the landing-place. Opposite the main building of the settlement a long narrow pier ran out into the sea some thirty yards. At the end of the pier a small thatched hut, approached by steps from the water, had been erected. Two turnstiles, flanked by desks, showed that the authorities of the island held a careful inquiry before allowing the pilgrims to land.

I jumped out of the jolly boat, and, carrying my papers beneath my arm, ran up the wooden staircase of the landing place. Seeing no obstacle but the turnstile, I went along the narrow pier towards the Residency upon the roof of which the Turkish flag fluttered in the hot breeze. Suddenly the door of the Residency opened, and six officials dressed in white flowing robes and wearing fezzes rushed towards me, yelling in Turkish. I thought that something had happened to alarm them, so great was their excitement.

In an instant I was surrounded by a troupe of jabbering officials, who swept me back to the hut at the end of the pier. They looked at me defiantly over the turnstile and made uncomplimentary remarks concerning me to one another in Turkish. The captain and lascars in the boat laughed at my discomfiture.

At last a young man with a very yellow skin addressed me in French. He informed me bluntly that I had committed a very grave offence in passing the barrier before the ship's papers had been inspected and approved: the offence technically constituted a landing without permit and was punishable by a very heavy fine.

The officials crowding the barrier became silent on the approach of the Governor of Kamorin, who, attended by three pages, left the white-washed building flying the Turkish flag. He was a corpulent man and came down the pier taking very

short steps. His bulbous red nose was brown with snuff which adhered to the greasy exudations of his skin. His iron-grey moustache showed traces of the sedative dust which falling had discoloured his white front. The officials made way for the Governor, behind whom a servant carried a chair.

I produced my papers and laid them out. They were written in English and totally unintelligible to the Turks. But that did not matter. The governor of the island raised gold-framed glasses to his eyes, and, holding the documents at right angles to the curve of his stomach, perused the contents in supercilious ignorance.

There were remarks between the governor and his staff. The young man who spoke French came to the barrier and said excitedly :

"Avez-vous le cholera?"

In a high key he repeated the word "cholera," which the officials behind re-echoed.

"Je suis tres bien Monsieur," I said in injured innocence.

Another official came up to the barrier—a tall dark man with fine features. He looked at me sadly, saying :

"I speakee the English, very difficult tongue. Have you the cholera? the black cholera.

"No," I said, "I have not got the cholera."

The English speaking official turned round and addressed his colleagues in a rapid guttural tongue.

"I say you," he continued, "the companee of the pilgrim ship have got the black cholera?"

"No," I replied; "we have had several deaths from influenza, but there has been no cholera on board."

The captain, listening to the conversation, said :

"You silly idiot! what do you want to go and say that there is influenza on board: the devils will keep us here a fortnight."

The English speaking interpreter announced the condition of health of the ship to the governor, who appeared displeased and took another pinch of snuff to quiet his feelings. I fancy I saw a look of remorse in their faces when our bill of health was approved and an official document was presented to us which allowed the landing of the pilgrims, for a short term of ten days' quarantine.

A Hadji ship stricken with cholera brings a golden harvest to Kamorin. The pilgrims are detained month by month in quarantine camps till the disease is exterminated and their dollars are exhausted. The fierce burning sun blazing down on the yellow arid sands of Kamorin purifies the pilgrims of disease; but many die. So much the better for Kamorin, for in that case the pilgrims leave their bones as well as their dollars :

the Turkish officials take the money; the thirsty sands of the barren island receive the other. What wonder that no plant or green thing will grow on the cursed island, where thousands of honest pilgrims lie buried in the sand. The sun alone looks down in tropical splendour on their unknown graves, while the placid waters of the Red Sea ripple on in the jagged coral reefs of the island in which the fallen pilgrims have found a long resting from their persecutors.

After much needless delay our credentials were approved by the authorities, and the jolly boat rowed slowly back to the ship. An official accompanied us; but, as he knew no language save his own, he was unintelligible except by signs.

The good ship Arabia was a sight! Slowly approaching in the boat, I had time to look at her. So glad was I to leave her that I had not given the ship a parting glance. The flag of our company fluttered listlessly at the main. The red flag of the mercantile marine hung from the halliard at the tip of the gaff. The rake of her masts and the gorgeous colour of the flags gave the ship a style. The Arabia had been a mail boat, but now the good ship was degraded to the degree of a floating charnel-house. After the long voyage the big square rivetted plates on her sides were rusted by the action of the warm water: a seam of filth and sea-weed hung on the iron near the water line.

The wind blew from the direction of the ship and brought the unsavoury smell of Hadjis again into our nostrils. The pilgrims applauded our approach with weird shouts, and the Turkish official stood up in the boat waving his fez. The native boats waiting to convey the pilgrims ashore closed round the ship, and the Hadjis began to disembark.

We boarded the ship, and I went to my cabin, sad and sorry.

God help the Briton engaged in the Hadji trade! May he see in those weird faces, chanting towards the setting sun the evening song, a reflection of something better than current coin.

The ship seemed to groan under her burden. The steam blew off from the safety valve, and a square column of water welled from the outlet of the condenser. All manner of craft came alongside. The Hadjis raved in their excitement, and, jumping into the water from the bulwarks of the ship, swam to the boats with their luggage floating before them. A decrepid launch, wheezing and asthmatic, came panting alongside, and blew a whistle to show that she had steam; at her stern flew the Turkish flag, and it was evident that her purposes were official. After some delay the launch towed ashore a long line of lighters filled with squalling pilgrims; like a swan escorting

her offspring, the launch steamed away with the lighters to the landing-place of the quarantine station.

At last the ship was clear and for the present our duties were ended.

"Thank God!" said every one of us as we sat down to the evening meal.

We slept well that night; no hacking coughs of a restless crowded multitude kept us awake. The weary gregorians chanted from the Koran had ceased. The offensive smells remained; but, by contrast, the ship seemed quiet as the grave.

I daily visited the quarters of the pilgrims ashore. The poor wretches were stationed in camp upon the sands, and enjoyed themselves after the privations of the voyage. Our consignment was lucky in the possession of a clean bill of health which entitled them to the best of quarters. In addition, the "Arabia" landed the pilgrims at Kamorin in March, when the Hadji season has scarcely commenced. In April, May and July the island is overrun with pilgrim camps, which occasionally revolt and show a mutinous spirit. Not many years ago the Turkish troops were called out, and there was a great slaughter of rebels.

The camp was arranged like a church in the form of a cross. At the top of the cross was the office and hut of the official or doctor in charge of the party. Whenever I saw him, he was either smoking or drinking, although he never appeared to be the worse for either.

The Hospital of the camp lay near the officials' residence. It was a shed built on the open sand which constituted the floor. There were no beds or shelves for the accommodation of the sick, who were expected to lie on the ground. The proportions of the building were hopelessly inadequate to cope with an epidemic among the pilgrims: the hospital was scarcely capable of containing the ordinary casualties.

The pilgrims themselves found comfortable accommodation in the sheds and huts of the lipes. I saw several goats in their quarters, and at a fabulous price such luxuries as milk could be obtained. Condensed water was served regularly. Daily Arab fishermen brought fresh fish to the foreshore and sold it to the Hadjis. The sheds in which they lived, were made of rough wood-work into which bushy shrubs like English heather had been interwoven. The roofs were thin and the tropical sun at midday streamed through the slender shelter. Nevertheless the pilgrims appeared comfortable and chatted gaily among themselves.

The streets, the floor, the foundations of all Kamorin are sand and coral. A wide sandy expanse, abutting on the coral

foreshore, gave the pilgrims room for exercise. About half a mile from the camp a wire fence separated the settlement from the rest of the sand. The boundaries were patrolled by Turkish soldiers night and day. The Hadji is strictly confined to his encampment during quarantine. The officials and soldiers in charge of the party dare not cross the boundary as long as the pilgrims remain in camp.

The ship lay quietly at her chains and anchor. The output of pilgrims reduced her burden by many tons, and the Plimsoll-line showed clear above the blue waters of the Red Sea. The decks were bare and vacant: the litter of human beings and their baggage had gone. An attempt was made to clean the ship, but the effort did not prosper. The decks were dirty beyond the reach of holy-stone and sand. A narrow path led fore and aft upon which the heap of disinfectant lay bedded like cement by the tread of countless feet. Time alone could wear away the marks on the deck.

After ten days of quarantine the pilgrims came on board again in lighters and native boats. They seemed depressed, although their long journey to Jeddah was nearly over. It happened to be ashore, and saw their departure, which was conducted in Turkish style.

A long marquee was erected in a clear space near the Hospital. Beneath the tent the Governor of Kamorin, accompanied by several companies of soldiers and numerous officials, seated himself on a gilt throne before a table covered with green baize. Potted palms and evergreens, interspersed with soldiers, formed the back-ground, and in the fore-ground a carpet was spread over the sand.

A detachment of soldiers drawn up in single file at the entrance of the tent, with fixed bayonets, formed an impressive array. A pompous official at the end of the avenue of soldiers called out the name of each pilgrim who with his company rose in response to the call. The Hadji, leaving the squatting crowd of his companions assembled on the sand, walked forward with his property and belongings. The official gave him a pass and ushered him to the entrance of the avenue of armed men, at the end of which the Governor of Kamorin, looking at daylight through gold framed spectacles, sat in a marquee over which the Turkish flag was flying.

The pilgrim long before he has reached the end of the lane lined by armed men has lost all courage. With fluttering heart, he salaams three times on the carpet before the Governor of Kamorin, and the attendant in charge hands the pass to the Governor.

The Governor reads out the items and demands the payment. Dollars for board and residence, for fresh water, for

doctor and hospital; fees on arrival and fees on departure. The poor Hadji trembles and gesticulates in vain, the money must be paid to the last cent.

If the pilgrim hesitates in payment, the cashier seated before a big brass tray covered with silver coins, jingles the coins in his charge, and turns over the money on the back of his skinny hand. The Governor stormily demands payment, and interpreters intervene to shake the money out of the pilgrim. If the interpreters do not succeed in gaining the money, the soldiery are called in and assume threatening attitudes. A bayonet thrust makes a clean triangular wound in the flesh, which brings men to their senses.

In the end the pilgrim unties the knot in the tail of his shirt and produces money, which the Governor of Kamorin coldly hands to his cashier, who throws the coin into the big plate of silver pieces which lies beneath the table of the Governor.

The pilgrims, having undergone the ordeal of official interview, leave the marquee and depart by the boats which transfer them from the sandy desert of Kamorin to the Hadji ship.

JEDDAH.

The Governor of Kamorin, together with all the major and minor officials of the island wearing the fez, came on board in the broken-down launch which towed the last detachment of pilgrims on board, in order to wish us a happy voyage. They were entertained on pilgrim rum and coffee, which Pedro's ingenuity palmed off upon our guests as a new liquor fashionable in Europe. With mock state they seated themselves in the small saloon and drank and smoked till the third blow of the whistle, when the captain came in and, pleading the ebb of the tide as a pretext, urged the necessity of immediate departure. We said stately insincere farewells at the gangway, and rejoiced when the low sand heaps of Kamorin faded into purple haze, and we stood on our way to Jeddah.

Our course touched the eastern limit of the great highway of the Red Sea which leads from the Suez Canal to the Straits of Babel-Mandeb. One afternoon a wreath of smoke appeared in the distance, and the masts of a four-masted steamer slowly climbed the slope of the horizon. The officer of the watch pronounced the onward coming vessel to be the "Atalanta," the proudest and finest vessel of our fleet, which is as familiar with the Red Sea as a London swell with Bond Street. The "Arabia" flew at the main the Company's colours, and altered her course so as to approach the liner, which ploughed up the blue seas before her proud fore-foot. The mail-ship answered our flag in turn, and through the telescope we saw the flag of the Company unfurl at the main.

Onward she came, ploughing up the smooth waters, which rose like a white collar about her graceful bows. The officers assembled on the bridge long before the lines of the steamer had cleared the horizon. We hoped to see a familiar face, perhaps the face of a friend, on the big Australian mail-ship. As a dog in trouble rubs itself against a companion, the good ship "Arabia" shaped her course towards the "Atalanta," steaming on her way to Australia. In glorious magnificence of silent motion the big ship came down on our port-side, not a whisp of smoke issued from the huge chimney-stacks to mark in the heavens the trail of her path: the blue waters of the Red Sea, churned to foam, seethed and bubbled beneath her stern, and marked her path with an ever-changing track, snow-white near the propeller and fading into blue in the vastness of the waters. The white awnings of her deck sparkled in the tropical sun, and fresh clean paint made the vessel look as smart as a new dog-cart.

The Hadjis, at the beck of their companions, crowded out of the holds to watch the passage of the big ship. The sooty awnings and rusty stanchions of the "Arabia" were thick with them. Our ship passed within earshot of the liner, and the gilt-letters of the liner's name were clearly visible to the naked eye. The passengers ran to the taffrail to get a better view of the curiosity of the deep: they may have taken the "Arabia" for a floating menagerie or a drifting hay-rick. The Hadjis on the awning yelled and gesticulated like apes untied. The officers on the bridge of the "Atalanta" stared in wonderment at the Hadji ship. We waved our handkerchiefs towards the liner, the rails of which were crowded with girls dressed in pink and blue frocks. Some of us thought that they recognised the faces of old friends on board. Abeam the quartermaster dipped the red ensign of the mercantile marine, and held the flag low for several seconds. The pilgrims yelled in unqualified approval, and the officers assembled on the bridge of the "Arabia" cheered and waved their handkerchiefs frantically.

The fine mail steamer passed us and did not even condescend to answer our dip. The "Arabia" was hardly abeam when the ladies produced their handkerchiefs, and protecting their noses, fled from the sight of our vessel. The Hadji ship at sea is followed by an unsavoury odour.

After three days the low sand-hills of the Arabian coast appeared on our starboard side. It was calculated from dead-reckoning and nautical observations that the ship was approaching Jeddah. The anxiety of the officers and captain began to show itself, for the harbour of Jeddah was known to be dangerous to navigators. The charts are unreliable and

the buoys are liable to drift. The wreck of a 'steamer sunk at the entrance of the harbour lay with her masts out of water in the fair-way of the channel. At Kamorin it was reported that an Arab pilot had intentionally run the steamer upon a reef and the people of Jeddah, coming off in boats, rejoiced in the loot of the wreck.

At length the grey stone walls and minarets of Jeddah became visible among the sand-hills of the coast. A yell of joy went up from the pilgrims, who prostrated themselves on the deck to offer a prayer of thanksgiving.

Two small sailing boats with white lattcen sails came towards us. The occupants were interchanging remarks in Arabic, the tone of which indicated that no good-will existed between the two crews. Leaning over to the light wind, the boats sailed abreast one of the other. The Arab at the tiller put the rudder hard over, and, with the grace of swans the little boats came simultaneously alongside. A rope was dropped over the side, and in an instant two lithe Arabs climbed on board from either boat. Each man hurried to the bridge and, prostrating himself before the captain, solicited the pilot-age of the vessel into the harbour of Jeddah.

The rival pilots hissed and fumed at one another in guttural and disgusting Arabic. The captain chose a ragged and scarred old Arab with one eye who could speak a few words of Hindoostani. With the pilot-boats floating under her quarter, the "Arabia" neared Jeddah at half speed.

The Arab standing on the bridge beside the captain indicated the course of the vessel with his skinny black hand. Abdullah stood behind the pilot and interpreted Arabic into Hindoostani. The captain instructed Abdullah to inform the pilot that he would be shot, drawn and quartered if the vessel went ashore.

A lascar was sent to the truck of the fore-mast, to which he lashed himself with ropes. Two quarter-masters were ordered to the cross bar, from which they could report broken water and reefs to the captain on the bidge. The chief officer took his station on the fore-castle, where the anchors were slung ready to drop at a moment's notice.

The ship steamed slowly up a narrow channel fringed by a long coral reef, standing out of the sea like a low wall. Two buoys were passed, and the distant Jeddah grew nearer. About a quarter of a mile from the column built on the end of the narrow reef which leads to the outer harbour there lay an English steamer flying her flags at anchor. Thinking that the steamer had taken berth in deep water, the captain rang quarter speed and shaped the course of the ship towards the substantial "tramp." The Arab pilot grew frantic and

stamped with naked foot on the bridge. With a zig-zag movement of his hand he traced the course of the ship.

The "Arabia" seemed to feel her way through the reefs about which the blue waters rippled on either side of the fair-way. The Secunni in the birds' nest beneath the bridge threw the lead and reported seven fathoms of water ; so far all was well. Suddenly there was a harsh grating sound like the sound of paper torn, and a dull thrill ran through the ship. The port anchor crashed into the sea and with a loud peal the telegraph rang to the engine-room. The "Arabia" was piled up upon a reef in the soft coral of which her bow lay buried.

The wells were sounded, and to the relief of all it was found that the hull of the ship was not injured. Boats were lowered and soundings taken round the ship. She lay in a narrow channel surrounded by reefs on either side. The order for "half-speed astern" was given and like a package bumping down a staircase the "Arabia" floated off into deep water. Night was coming on rapidly. It was impossible with failing light to get the ship into safer waters. With anxious faces we sat down to the evening meal tired and exhausted, although the lights of Jeddah wore in view. Anything like a breeze would have dashed the "Arabia" on the reefs, and broken the ship into pieces.

We did not sleep well that night. But the Hadjis snored and coughed and sang, for they were within a hundred miles of Meccah—their dreams were peaceful. During the spring of the year the wind blows constantly from the north : it is a soft fanning breeze which blows invariably : otherwise the sharks would have had a meal of Hadjis and the thieves of Jeddah a rich harvest.

At break of day the ship was slowly backed along the channel in which she had grounded and came to anchor beside a reef which was distant scarce a ship's length. Early in the morning I went ashore with the captain in the jolly boat, and when we had presented our credentials at the Custom house, a flag was run up as a signal that the pilgrims might disembark. The clocks seemed strange, pointing to the hour of 2 P.M. ; in Arabia the time is calculated from the hour of sunrise.

The captain had business to transact with the agent of Azigoff. and, having procured a guide, we called upon this native gentleman.

The magnificence of the houses in Jeddah is positively alarming. Four storeyed houses built in a style, bastard of Eastern and Western art, rise in lofty grandeur from the sandy streets. Everything in the way of architecture is massive and grand.

We were led by a guide to the house of the agent, who lived in the best quarter of the town. The residence was fit for a prince. The folding doors of the portico were hung on long bronze hinges deeply chiselled in tasteful design. The drifting sand had preserved the richness of the carved woodwork of the door.

A native servant, probably a slave, opened the door with a low salaam and admitted us to the hall. The hall was ornamented with green shrubs, and covered with the softest of Persian carpets. The captain presented a letter from Azigoff to the merchant, which the servant carried to his master. The slave came back, and, making the profoundest of salaams, led us up a massive stone staircase into a delightful old room. An ample wainscoted window, lined with seats from which one could see the sea, brought back reminiscences of mediæval houses at home, and the four foot walls suggested associations with University life.

The seats in the bow-window facing the sea were lined with silk cushions, and the bright light of the tropical sun reflected by the sea and sand streamed through the diamond panes of the window. In the dim morning light the rich Persian carpets covering the walls and floor produced a lovely effect of softly blended colours. There was a dais in the alcove of the window where we sat awaiting the merchant. Save an octagonal stool, beside which rested a massive silver hookah, there was no other furniture in the room.

We both rose from our seats in the window at the entrance of the merchant. He was a short, stout, bald-headed man, with a greasy face pitted with small-pox. The retinue of servants following their master bowed a low obeisance towards us. The merchant lifted the back of his hand half way to his forehead and sat down plump on the carpet beside the hookah and began to smoke. A small boy, the living image of the missing link, sat at his side and waved a fan in his hand.

The Captain addressed our host in Hîndoostani and produced a mysterious document written in jagged characters. With deliberation the merchant read the contents of themissive. The servants brought coffee and cigarettes of which we partook. The coffee, half-grounds, half-liquor, was exceptionally good.

After mutual exchange of high toned compliments, the two men went to business with rapidity. The subject of conversation was money and cargo.

During the last Hadji pilgrimage cholera had visited Jeddah and the epidemic was unusually severe. The pilgrims died like flies in a frost, and the living could not bury the dead. The entrances of houses over-looking the square in which camels are

hired by the pilgrims, were frequently blocked by corpses : the Hadjis crept up the stone staircase and sank down to die. The very camels became sick and died. Thousands upon thousands died, and human bones, gnawed by dogs and bleached by the drifting sand, littered the sandy streets of Jeddah.

The road to Meccah—that long straight road over the sandy desert—was strewn with dead and dying, who in their last agony turned to look in the direction of the sacred city. Jeddah was a burial place above ground where in the burning sun human corpses melted from decomposition, in the sandy streets. Collected from all quarters of Arabia, the keen-sighted vultures swept down upon the unhappy pilgrims, and feasted on human flesh which the Turkish soldiery refused to bury.

The Bedawins, those human vultures who swoop down and rob the pilgrims on the road to Meccah, retired from the outskirts of Jeddah. Death on all sides saved them the trouble of slaying, and made the plunder easy. Cholera spread among their ranks and decimated their spies in Jeddah and the wild horsemen who hover round the rough road to Meccah. But the harvest had not been sufficient for the Bedawin.

At the end of the Hadji they collected in force before the gates of Jeddah and demanded a handsome sum from the governor of the town. In case of refusal they threatened to sack the city. The troops at the disposal of the governor were inadequate. The governor paid the ransom and the town was saved from the Bedawins.

The blue sea which ripples on the white, silver and golden sands of Jeddah is lovely. A narrow tortuous channel fringed by coral reefs leads to the landing-place from the inner harbour, where the "Arabia" lay at anchor. The water is clear as crystal. Looking over the edge of the boat, one can see the depths of the tropical sea teeming with life. Brilliant coloured sea-weeds grow from white and red coral. Huge anemones hang waving their flower-like tentacles magnified by the refraction of the clear waters. The bottom sparkles with the *débris* of coral and glows with colour. Tiny fish move mysteriously in the depth of the water, and, darting to and fro, leave a path of silvered spangles.

On a jut of sandy barren coast lies Jeddah, surrounded by a city wall, above which the stately buildings of the town tower. The awkward lines of the city wall appear in the distance to be broken by lofty over-hanging houses. Here and there the dome of a mosque or the minaret of some palatial residence catches the eye. To the right, in a waste of sand, the copper cupola of the mosque of eve caught the morning sun.

The "Arabia" in the distance flew flags from the main fore and aft masts, and was the centre of much activity. Around

her all manner of crazy craft had collected. In solid strength, her tarnished hulk towered above the boats which flocked to her side and surrounded the ship completely.

As we drew up in the jolly-boat, the work of unlading the ship was well in hand. The winches creaked and clattered harshly. Planks, rice bags and pilgrims poured out of every outlet of the ship into the fragile craft which, bumping against one another at each turn of the wave, hung about the ship like a swarm of bees on a bough.

At last the pilgrims had departed and the ship was empty save for cargo. The poor misguided, helpless cattle had been shipped and landed at a profit; and they had fallen, perhaps, into worse hands than our own. Those under English protection in their native states, wrote their names in the ledger of the English consulate: this act conferred the advantage that if they, the pilgrims, were stranded penniless in Jeddah, the Hadji on his return from Mecca would be granted a free passage to his native country at the expense of the British Government. Considering that many pilgrims die yearly in the open streets of Jeddah from starvation, the English consulate offers advantages to the waif of enthusiasm.

I had a long talk with the Arab pilot, who made the ship his home during our stay in Jeddah. He told me that the Bedawins had inflicted the scars about his face and body: twice they had left him for dead in the desert. He appeared to pity the pilgrims, upon whom none the less he preyed. For the equivalent of a fiver he agreed to take me to Meccah and back, and volunteered his own scarred body to the captain as security.

The town of Jeddah planted in a sandy wilderness near the sea, where the fall of rain causes the inhabitants to think the world is about to come to an end, is a thrice sacred city to the Moslem Creed.

The name of the town in Arabic means "grandmother." Here, outside the city walls, our common ancestress Eva—the Eve of Genesis—tradition says, is buried in the midst of a huge cemetery which has sprung up round her burial place. The mosque is probably the oldest building in Jeddah. It lies near the Turkish barracks, and for a fee to the priest the devout Moslem dying in the town may rest his bones besides the venerated shrine. A low stone wall half covered with drifting sand surrounds the enclosure, which is full of ancient monuments. A narrow sandy path crowded with pilgrims who seemed to resent our visit, leads to the mosque: at our approach they hawked and spat on the sand to show their disgust at the intrusion into their holy places.

The drifting sand and absence of moisture have preserved

in a wonderful manner the monuments which fill the cemetery from end to end. As in an English burial ground, the tombstones present many varieties, from the square ugly box to the simple pillar, so here the memorials to the dead vary. In this cemetery the dead lie thick as pebbles on the sea-shore. The level of the sandy enclosure has been elevated by the accretion of human bones. The ancient mosque or shrine is a flat cupolated building covered by two green copper domes. The low walls are massively built of stone and perhaps ten feet in breadth. Outside the building a few trees, watered by the priests, struggle to grow in the sand.

At the entrance we were met by a priest who made us a stately bow : he was a bright-eyed, intelligent Arab and spoke Hindoostani fluently : he offered to show us round the shrine.

Taking off my hat, I entered the shrine of Eve. The pilgrims, scowling, made way, and straightway left the building defiled by my presence. Two worn stone steps led down from the entrance into the ante-room :—to the right is the shrine of Eve and to the left the Sarcophagus of a wealthy Mahomedan, who built the mosque and now rests in a cupolated crypt beside the burial place of Eve.

Eve's last resting place is a neat white-washed chamber, the walls of which are hung with framed genealogical tables containing the names of Mahomedan Patriarchs arranged quaintly on the branches of trees. The guide pointed with skinny fingers to the quaint parchment tablets and pronounced several familiar Biblical names. Two open windows, from which the low parallel walls about six yards apart run to the confines of the cemetery, face north and south. The lines of these walls mark the frame of Eve who lies buried beneath them, with head pointing to the south and feet towards the north. The dome rests near the centre of the body, but nearer to the feet than the head : according to Burton the distance from the head to the shrine is 120 paces, and from the feet 80 paces on this rough estimate Eve must have been 180 odd yards long and six feet in breadth. What wonder that Adam deserted his wife and died at Masjid-al-Khayf, where his gigantic sepulchre is visible ?

The sepulchral chamber is a room about 20 feet square : above it towers the dome, in which there is an opening to the west. In the centre of the crypt is a big flat stone worn, and polished by the frequent touch of pilgrims : on the surface of the stone a circular design resembling an old English rose is cut : this circular carving is kissed by the thousands of pilgrims who visit Jeddah during the Hadji.

Beneath the slab is an opening filled with water which the pilgrims take in their hand. As we entered the building, a

pilgrim, praying as if his heart would break, knelt upon the stone step in front of the holy water: he was so absorbed in his devotion that he did not notice our intrusion.

Jeddah is a walled city—walls and gateways complete. The Turkish soldiery parade the broad pathway on the summit, and at sundown the gates are closed. The walls are from thirty to forty feet high and built in the lavish magnificence of the buildings in Jeddah.

In the open square to which pilgrims resort for conveyance to Meccah, camels squatted on their knees, and the strange animals of the desert chewed their food with swinging heavy jaws and wearing on their grotesque faces a look of scornful contempt. Camels, mules, asses and horses in all stages of dilapidation waited beside their masters in dumb patience to be hired for the journey to Meccah. The pilgrims, dressed in white, hurried about among the animals and made contracts with the drivers. The rich man visits Meccah on the back of a camel, followed by mules carrying his wives, luggage, fire-wood, and accompanied by an armed guard. The middle class pilgrim bestrides an ass and puts his luggage on the shoulders of the beast and his firewood on the rump. The poor, who are always with us, walk barefooted through the sand. They have scarce enough money to reach the sacred city, and on their return to Jeddah are often unable to pay their passage home. If no helping hand is outstretched towards them, they die and the sand of the desert covers their bones.

Late in the afternoon we made an expedition to the Eastern gate from which the pilgrims proceed to Meccah. The Eastern road of the city was as crowded as London Bridge at sunset; along the narrow cobbled road a continuous stream of camels, asses, mules, horses and Hadjis jostled one another. The fierce looks of the pilgrims, and the roughness of their beasts of burden choking the road caused us to turn into a by-street, whither small Arabs followed, and stoned us from the corner. By a circuitous route we reached the Eastern gate, beyond which the English Consul was not responsible for our lives. Nevertheless we were swept through with the crowd and found ourselves looking at the procession to Mecca. It stretched along a long straight road across the desert, leading to purple barren hills where the road vanishes out of sight; two telegraph wires slung on rickety posts accompanied the road. The sand upon it is in continuous movement. No sooner does one foot-print leave an impress, then another covers it up. In the distance the procession was lost to sight in a yellow cloud of dust mingling with the purples of the far-off hills.

Before us caravan after caravan defiled through the gate;

all sorts, kinds and conditions of men, women and children of the Mahomedan world ; rich and poor mixed up in indescribable confusion.

At the head of his household the wealthy pilgrim bestrode his camel, dressed in a white linen cloth striped with fine red bands, and followed by his women and children in cages on camel-back. Fierce-looking warriors, carrying heavy knives across their middle, and gigantic pistols in their belts, strode along-side the party for their protection in the desert. Many of the women wore unsightly screens upon their faces. The wealthier pilgrims thought it necessary to recite prayers in nasal gregorian.

Interspersed with camels and dromedaries were poor pilgrims, either walking beside their donkeys or trudging along on foot. All the pilgrims had a stern set expression on their faces such as a bridegroom has when he leads his bride to the altar.

Outside the Eastern wall was much to amuse us. A sort of fair was being held, and booths and temporary stalls had been erected. A conjurer performed tricks before an admiring crowd, and a naked nigger boy in attendance made grotesque attitudes, jumping round in a circle about his master shouting: "Bosh ! Bosh ! Bosh !"

The third officer lifted up his eyes, and on the distant top of a sand hill saw a party of three Arab girls busily engaged in sifting dried camel's dung which is used for fuel. We could not distract his attention from the vision of brightness. At length he made up his mind to risk a personal introduction and set off to climb the opposite side of the hill from which he could approach them unobserved. We watched his movements with great interest and some fear. Sneaking round the base of the hill he crept up in their midst, and in a moment the girls rose and, screaming, ran as if Satan had appeared amongst them. Thus the infatuation of the officer was disappointed, and he had no love-making at Jeddah, from which we sailed at sunrise.

ART. V.—CHANDERNAGORE.

‘**N**OUS y sommes ; nous y restons.” Such is the motto of the French establishments in India. The Chandernagore of Dupleix died ever so long ago ; but its sentiment remains. It is asking too much of France to expect her to part with a spot so rich in historic associations. All her colonial enterprise of the past seems wrapped up in that pretty strip of territory twenty-one miles from Calcutta. While the metropolis of British India was yet in a state of comparative insignificance, Chandernagore could boast a fleet of vessels engaged in conveying the products of Bengal to Jeddah, to Mocha, to Bussorah and to China. It is true that the tricolour has replaced the fleur de lys ; but a foreign flag still floats over the settlement, and a picturesquely clad cipahi keeps watch and ward by its arsenal as faithfully as any grenadier of the royal regiment de Bourbon.

A citizen of Calcutta may well relax his mind in an excursion by water to this little bit of France lying so near his doors. The steamer lands you at the tiniest of toy jetties : and at once you step on to the Strand, the glory of modern Chandernagore. Viewed from the river, this beautiful esplanade and its bright buildings irresistibly attract the eye, and are in strong contrast to the common-place approaches of Serampore and Ohinsurah. Lower down the bank stand many Brahminical temples, having in front flights of steps giving access, for purposes of ritual ablution, to the waters of this most revered branch of the Ganges. In the burning sun the sacred stream stretches before your gaze like a great white road. Adjoining the European town lies the native bazaar, brimming with crowds of buyers and sellers. Imagination carries us back to the days when this city was the seat of world-wide opulence and splendour. The squares and gardens are once more peopled with courtly lords and ladies, while a row of gaily pennoned ships lend animation to the scene. A stranger standing on the turret of Fort Orleans a hundred and fifty years ago would have surveyed a citadel bristling with cannon and a factory laden with merchandise. Small as it is, Chandernagore has made a great noise in the world. To-day the Palais Dupleix at Gyretty is a mound of half visible ruins. But it was in this riverside mansion that the great Frenchman first revolved his gigantic schemes of empire. More than two thousand brick houses were built in the town during his Governorship. Trade increased and colonists multiplied during those palmy days. The present steeple

represents the older church of St. Louis, in which he married his celebrated wife Jeanne, from whom he learnt the tongues and talents of oriental diplomacy.

The name Chandernagore means the City of Sandalwood, but it has been variously interpreted as the city that lies shaped like a moon on the reaches of the Hooghly. It is said to take its appellation from a Hindoo village situated near it on the road to Chinsurah. Its early history before the arrival of Dupleix is hardly a record of successful progress. A French East India Company had been formed by Ricaut in 1642 : and Louis XIV gave it encouragement by an edict declaring that it was not derogatory for the nobility to engage in commerce. In 1676, Chandernagore had been occupied by Monsieur Deslandes during the reign of Shaista Khan ; and twelve years later the spot was regularly ceded by the Emperor Aurungzeeb. An extract from the travels of Captain Alexander Hamilton, who spent his time in trading to various parts of India between 1683 and 1723, shows that the first chiefs of the Comptoir had, from want of funds and bad management, allowed it to sink into utter stagnation. Affairs must have reached a very low ebb when the old skipper wrote his sarcastic description : " There are several other villages on the river's sides, in the way to Hooghly, which lies 20 miles above Barnagul, but none remarkable, till we come to the Danes' Factory, which stands about four miles below Hooghly. But the poverty of the Danes has made them desert it, after having robbed the Mogul's subjects of some of their Shipping, to keep themselves from starving. Almost opposite to the Danes' Factory is Bankebanksal, a place where the Ostend Company settled a factory, but in Anno 1723 they quarrelled with the Fouzdaar or Governor of Hooghly, and he forced the Ostenders to quit their factory, and seek protection from the French at Charnagur, where their factory is, but, for want of money, are not in a Capacity to trade. They have a few private families dwelling near the Factory, and a pretty little Church to hear Mass in, which is the chief business of the French in Bengal."

Such was Chandernagore when Dupleix arrived there as Intendant in 1731. His activity immediately communicated itself to his sluggish colleagues. He had brought with him a private fortune acquired by ten years' successful industry ; and this capital he proceeded to invest in country trade. Under his influence enterprise soon succeeded to languor. Communications were opened up with all parts of the Mogul's dominions, and attempts were even made to tap distant Tibet. Such was the resurrection of the settlement that by 1753 it boasted no less than 103,000 inhabitants. Among that popula-

tion the Jesuit missionaries counted as many as four thousand converts. Nor were they the only ministers of the Gospel in that fruitful field. The Capuchins had their own monastery and college. In the year 1726 the Italian mission from Agra had built a little Chapel by the banks of the river. Friar Marcus, who wrote a geographical work on India, lived for many years at Chandernagore. The place of worship of his Order stands to-day within the walls of St. Mary's Convent, and the date of its foundation may still be seen engraved on the outer door.

Had Dupleix been properly supported from France, he might have dictated terms to the Grand Mogul himself. He bore the title of Nawab, and came up from Pondicherry to Chandernagore for the purpose of being invested with the proud title. His grandeur seemed supreme. He coined his own money, was surrounded with a gorgeous retinue, and played the part of an Oriental potentate to the full. In his wife he found an admirable interpreter of the motives and intrigues of the natives with whom he was brought into contact. To this day the Place Dupleix at Chandernagore commemorates one who, if the fates had been more propitious, would have founded an Eastern Paris on the Hooghly at the very spot, perhaps, where Calcutta astonishes the visitor with her alternations of squalid hovels and stately mansions. But his recall in 1753 shattered for ever these hopes of an Asiatic empire for his countrymen. Hitherto the honours paid to his memory have been meagre. The Messageries Maritimes have named one of their liners after him ; and this year's Salon contained a picture of the great man's dying moments. At present Landrecies, his birth place, and Pondicherry, the metropolis of his aspirations, alone possess his statue. But Chandernagore has not been altogether forgetful. Before another year is past the gallant son of the Fermier-Général of Hainault will live again in marble in the town where he was once Governor and where he married the famous Joanna Begum.

Madame Dupleix was a Creole of mixed descent. Her father was a physician in the French Company's service named Albert, and her mother, Dona Elizabeth de Castro, a Portuguese lady, of partly Italian parentage. The daughter was a widow when Dupleix met her. Her first husband, Monsieur Vincens, a member of Council at Chandernagore, had died in 1739, leaving her with six children. When Dupleix married her two years later, she was 33 years of age. Their only child died shortly after birth. Madame la Directrice (as she loved to style herself, when she signed the baptismal register of any of her godchildren) returned to France and

died there of chagrin caused by the injustice meted out to the man she adored. The services she rendered him during his Eastern career have made her a historical character, and French India still teems with traditions of her power.

The Augustan age of Chandernagore extended only for thirty years after Dupleix's arrival. As the star of Calcutta rose, the English merchants began to cast longing eyes upon the Naboth's vineyard which lay so temptingly within their reach. The feelings of international jealousy, so strong in Europe during the last century, found a ready echo in Bengal; and our predecessors within the Mahratta Ditch took every opportunity of harassing their ambitious neighbours. Even in periods of peace, the feud prevailed. In 1750, the Council wrote to London that, "having received information that some blacks residing in this town were dealing with the French for goods proper to the European market, we told them if we found any proof against any residing inside your Honors' protection, that such should suffer our utmost displeasure." Seven years later, there is a characteristic discussion in the minutes of the Select Committee, respecting a proposal from the Governor of Chandernagore that there should be neutrality between the two nations within the Ganges, though they were at war in Europe. Clive and his Councillors were inclined to agree; but Watson objected on the ground that the treaty must be ratified at Pondicherry, which would involve two months' delay; and, in the event of its not being confirmed, no reliance could be placed upon the Nawab's guarantee, as the English fleet would then be away. Watson twice held out against Clive, who thereupon asked him, if he refused a third time, to go to the other extreme and at once attack Chandernagore by water, while he would himself march upon it by land. War was declared, and Chandernagore, termed by Clive "the granary of the islands," fell, and with her all the castles in the air dreamt of by Dupleix.

The islands referred to are Mauritius and Bourbon. In a speech made by Clive in 1772, during the Parliamentary enquiry into his conduct, we find the phrase similarly employed. "I tremble," he said, "when I think of the risk we lately ran from the ambitious designs of the French. They may have suspended for a time their views upon India, but I am sure they have not given them up. It is strongly reported that they have at this moment 10,000 men at the islands, and a great number of transports; these men will not return to France, and yet the islands cannot maintain them: but at Madagascar they may possess themselves of a country capable of supporting any number. This they will certainly do" Unlike some prophecies, Clive's prophecy has been fulfilled:

and after more than a century, the French are masters of Madagascar. If the remainder of his forecast has not been brought to pass, and if the French have at all "given up their designs upon India," it is to Clive and Watson that we owe the frustration of their schemes for an Empire in the East Indies.

Edward Ives, who served as surgeon on board of Admiral Watson's flagship, the *Kent*, has given us a portentously long, but undeniably interesting, narrative of his voyages. In this work, half a chapter is devoted to the operations against Chandernagore in 1757. Watson and Clive, it will be remembered, had come up from Madras after the tragedy of the Black Hole and recaptured the English settlement at Calcutta. Their uninterrupted train of success encouraged them in their designs upon Chandernagore; and, as has been stated before, the war party's policy prevailed in the Council Chamber. In spite of much letter writing on the part of Surajah Dowlah, who was still to feel the prowess of his antagonists at Plassey, preparations were rapidly pushed on. The investment by land was completed on the 13th of March, and, a week later, three men-of-war, the *Kent*, the *Salisbury* and the *Tyger*, anchored in full view of the town off the Prussian Octagon, much to the mortification of the defenders, who imagined that it was impossible for a foreign ship to come up so high. To prevent their further advance, vessels were sunk in a sand bank just below the fortress. But a treacherous French artillery officer named Terraneau showed the passage. The story goes that this betrayer of his country received an immense reward for his services, which he sent to his father in France. The patriotic parent spurned the gift and returned it to his son, who was so heart-broken by the tone of the reply, that he hanged himself in front of his house door with his own handkerchief.

This passage of the river in the face of a destructive fire from the fort was a feat remarkable in the naval history of the time. Clive subsequently, in evidence before the House of Commons, declared that "Admiral Watson's fleet had surmounted difficulties which he believed no other ships could have done, and that it was impossible for him to do the officers of the squadron justice on that occasion." Although the forces engaged were numerically small, the English loss was the heavier of the two. Their casualties amounted to 206, as against 150 killed and wounded on the French, who did not capitulate until their batteries were a heap of ruins.

Ives' history of the siege contains a most affecting account of the death of a young hero named Billy Speke. This boy's tombstone may be seen to this day opposite the Rohilla

cenotaph in St. John's Churchyard at Calcutta. The memorial slab is fully six feet high, and the following epitaph is cut upon it in immense characters. "Here lies the body of William Speke, aged eighteen, son of Henry Speke, Esq., Captain of His Majesty's Ship Kent. He lost his leg and life in that ship at the capture of Fort Orleans, the 24th of March 1757." As a matter of fact, Chandernagore was taken on the 23rd of March, and the midshipman, who, according to Ives, was only sixteen years old, died on the 13th of April, or nearly a fortnight afterwards. During the bombardment, the Kent, which mounted 70 guns, lay so near the fort she was attacking that the musket balls fired from her tops, by striking against the chunam walls of the Governor's house in the centre of the citadel, were beaten as flat as half crowns. The French, who stood to their cannons as long as they had any to fire, made a most determined resistance, and the flagship suffered so severely that by the end of the day she had lost 37 killed and 74 wounded, and had only one commissioned officer uninjured. The same shot that gave young Speke his death blow struck his father also. But the latter's wound was not mortal. The rest of the moving tale may be told in Ives' own words. It is impossible to read them without feeling all the grief of the kind-hearted doctor towards the young shipmate for whom he sorrowed so affectionately.

"When Admiral Watson had the unhappiness to see both the father and son fall in the same instant, he immediately went up to them, and by the most tender and pathetic expressions tried to alleviate their distress. The captain, who had observed his son's leg to be hanging only by the skin, said to the admiral, 'Indeed, sir, this was a cruel shot to knock down both the father and the son!' Mr. Watson's heart was too full to make the least reply; he only ordered them both to be immediately carried to the surgeon. The captain was first brought down to me in the after-hold, where a platform had been made, and then told me how dangerously his poor Billy was wounded. Presently after, the brave youth himself appeared, but had another narrow escape, the quartermaster, who was bringing him down in his arms after his father, being killed by a cannon ball. On my attempting to enquire into the condition of his wound, he solicitously asked me if I had dressed his father, for he could not think of my touching him before his father's wound had been taken care of. I assured him that the captain had been already properly attended to. 'Then (replied the generous youth, pointing to a fellow sufferer), pray, sir, look to and dress this poor man who is groaning so sadly beside me!' I told him, that he already had been taken care of, and begged of him with some impor-

tunity that I now might have liberty to examine his wound : he submitted to it, and calmly observed, 'Sir, I fear you must amputate above the joint !' I replied, 'My dear, I must !' I then performed the operation above the joint of the knee ; but during the whole time the intrepid youth never spoke a word, or uttered a groan that could be heard at a yard distance. Both the father and the son, the day after the action, were sent with the rest of the wounded back to Calcutta. The father was lodged at the house of William Mackett, Esq., his brother-in-law, and the son was with me at the hospital. For the first eight or nine days, I gave the father great comfort, by carrying him joyful tidings of his boy ; and in the same manner I gratified the son in regard to the father. But, alas ! from that time all the good symptoms which had hitherto attended this unparalleled youth began to disappear ! The captain easily guessed, by my silence and countenance, the true state his boy was in ; nor did he ever after ask me more than two questions concerning him ; so tender was the subject to us both, and so unwilling was his generous mind to add to my distress. The first was on the tenth day, in these words, 'How long, my friend, do you think my Billy may remain in a state of uncertainty ?' I replied, that 'If he lived to the 15th day from the operation, there would be the strongest hopes of his recovery.' On the 13th, however, he died ; and on the 16th the brave man looking me steadfastly in the face, said, 'Well, Ives, how fares it with my boy ?' I could make him no reply ;—and he immediately attributed my silence to the real cause. The dear youth had been delirious the evening preceding the day on which he died ; and at two o'clock in the morning, in the utmost distress of mind, he sent me an incorrect note, written by himself with a pencil, of which the following is an exact copy :—'If Mr. Ives will consider the disorder a son must be in, when he is told he is dying and is left in doubt whether his father is not in as good a state of health. If Mr. Ives is not too busy to honor this chitt, which nothing but the greatest uneasiness could draw from me. The boy waits an answer.' Immediately on the receipt of this note, I visited him, and he had still sense enough left to know who I was. He then began with me, 'And is he dead ?' 'Who, my dear ?' 'My father, Sir.' 'No, my love ; nor is he in any danger, I assure you ; he is almost well.' 'Thank God ! then why did they tell me so ? I am now satisfied, and ready to die.' At that time he had a locked jaw, and was in great distress, but I understood every word he so inarticulately uttered : he begged my pardon, for having (as he obligingly and tenderly expressed himself) disturbed me at so early an hour, and before the day was ended, surrendered up a valuable life."

It is instructive to turn from Ives' chronicle of tear-stained victory to the annals of the conquered Frenchmen. From a *compte-rendu historique*, which is still preserved in the settlement, we learn that Governor Renault de St. Germain protested vigorously against the high-handed conduct of his neighbours in attacking an unoffending factory while under the protection of the Nawab. But Watson, conscious of his strength, set himself out to fulfil his promise of kindling such a flame as not all the waters of the Ganges should extinguish. Clive was no less inexorable. Having learnt from Madras that Lally had destroyed the English factors' houses at Fort St. David and sold the materials at outcry, he ordered, as "a laudable national revenge," the demolition of every building of any pretensions in Chandernagore. The inhabitants in vain petitioned against the barbarous proposal to raze to the ground houses which had sheltered English fugitives in 1756. Captain Brohier, the Company's engineer, carried out his master's mandate so well that "only a few indigent widows' huts" were left standing. Every scrap of the fortifications was removed, and not a trace of foundations can now be discovered on the modern Plaine du Vieux Fort. A Roman friar piteously appealed for the preservation of his little sanctuary adjoining. It shared, however, in the general ruin. Nothing is easier to-day than to talk of the noble principles of humanity; but during the last century the dogs of war were let loose in full cry. In the instructions issued to the Count d' Ache, who commanded the French East Indian squadron about this time, the Most Christian King of France directed him not to leave an Englishman (not even of country birth), in any place he took. That a thorough example was made of Chandernagore may be seen from a description of it given by a traveller who made a circuit of inspection in 1758: "Chandernagore now-a-days exhibits no more than a heap of widespread rubbish, the corpse of a quondam city, a mere waste where lurked here and there a few distressed people. A year ago, it was built with a regularity and neatness one would look for to no purpose in many large cities of Europe, inhabited heretofore by a numerous population of wealthy inhabitants."

By this humiliation a blow was inflicted on the power of the French in Bengal from which it never recovered. When the town was restored by the Treaty of 1763, it was on the condition that no fortifications were to be erected, and it was not without great difficulty that permission was obtained to dig near the old moat a small trench to carry off rain water. But, though its political importance was gone, an attempt was made by Monsieur Chevalier, a later Governor, to restore its

private magnificence. He built a country-seat for himself on the ruins of Dupleix's Palace at Gyretty, and dispensed hospitality with a lavish hand. The house was described by Grandpré in 1789 as the finest building in India. "The front towards the garden is ornamented with a peristyle of the Ionic order, after the Grecian manner. The hall is spacious; the ceiling and cornice are painted by the hand of a master." All the distinguished men and women of Calcutta used to meet under the roof of this noble mansion. On such occasions the avenue was blocked by hundreds of the gayest equipages. Warren Hastings and Francis and Clavering were always glad to lay aside for a few hours the quarrels of the portfolio and speed in their green painted budgerows up the river to pay a visit to the glorious villa of their Parisian neighbour.

We happen to find in the pages of Stavorinus a full account of an entertainment given at Gyretty House to the Dutch Governor of Chinsurah. The illustrious guests left Chinsurah at four o'clock in the morning and reached the French château at six. On their arrival they were ushered into the superb saloon and received in state by all the principal ladies and gentlemen of Chandernagore. At seven a play was acted in a little summerhouse erected for the purpose in the grounds. The performance was over by ten, and the audience then sat down to a sumptuous banquet of one hundred and twenty covers. It was on a gala day such as this that one of John Company's servants named Grand fell in love with a maiden of Chandernagore, who was destined to bear the palm for beauty not only by the Ganges but by the Seine. The romance of Catherine Noel Werlée does not properly belong to Chandernagore at all: but it was here that she was married to Mr. Grand, the Bengal writer. Her father, Pierre Werlée, whose signature figures often in the old baptismal books of the parish church, was a sea-faring Breton who came out to India in his youth. Before he was twenty he was a river pilot, a post of even more importance with the French than the English. He rapidly rose to be master pilot, and eventually became Capitaine du Port and a Knight of the most noble order of St. Louis. One of his sons was a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and a grandson, Knight of Malta. The untravelled Englishman who dwells at home at ease, as well as the habitué of Calcutta who confounds Mrs. Grand with the authoress of the *Heavenly Twins*, may alike read the adventurous career of this lady in the entertaining pages of Dr. Busteed's *Echoes of Old Calcutta*. It is curious to think that the father of the future *Princesse de Talleyrand* should have been a man who wore a peajacket and shouted through a speaking trumpet, and who was responsible for

steering the barque of many a venturesome Vanderdecken through the foal Hooghly mud.

Old Chandernagore was destined to occupy only once more an important place on the page of Indian history. The Republic of Chandernagore sounds almost as absurd as the Principality of Monaco : but the political antics of the colony, after the news was received in it of the taking of the Bastille, recall the worst excesses of communards and pétroleuses. Governor de Montigny, finding himself on bad terms with the commander of the two companies of cipahis, retired with a dozen French families to Gyretty, which he fortified. The Republican party then raised the cry of Liberty and Equality. A rabble of *déclassés*, headed by a broken down advocate and a bankrupt merchant, plundered the town, made a bonfire of its public records and indulged themselves freely with the Madeira they found in the Governor's cellars. To secure themselves from attack, they proceeded to enlist from the country round a body of three hundred soldiers whom they dressed up in uniforms made of the red cloth plundered from the royal stores. Aided by this ragamuffin battalion, they threw up entrenchments near the river and manned them with a few cannon purchased from a trading vessel. Their next move was a characteristic one. On hearing that their countrymen had brought the king in triumph from Versailles to Paris, they determined to act similarly, and took their Governor by force from Gyretty to Chandernagore, where they shut him up in a dungeon with all the officers of the garrison. The private individuals were allowed to escape to Serampore, or, as it was then called, Frederiksnagore.

It may be imagined that this state of anarchy did not fail to excite considerable anxiety at Calcutta. Lord Cornwallis sent to demand that M. de Montigny should be instantly freed from durance vile. But the defiant *sansculottes*, intoxicated with success, declared they would sooner put him to death, and swore to defend their entrenchments while they had a man left. They even wished to guillotine their prisoners en masse, but had not the power to do so without the consent of the neighbouring Nawab, whom Madame la République could not afford to offend. It was, therefore, resolved to send all the royalists in chains to the Isle of France, and they were put on board a pilot brig for this purpose. This was the opportunity for which Lord Cornwallis was waiting. He stopped the ship on its way down and released the captives. Chandernagore, meanwhile, continued in a perpetual state of ferment. During the period of their ascendancy the rioters elected a new President every fortnight, and threatened repeatedly to loot the bazaars of Chinsurah. But the reign of terror was

not of long duration. On the breaking out of war between England and France in 1793, a detachment of British troops marched into Chandernagore, and took possession of it. No resistance was offered, except by a sentry who wounded a European in the hand with a bayonet, only to be transfixed the next minute with a similar weapon.

The English occupation lasted for twenty-two years. To the inhabitants it seems to have been neither irksome nor unpalatable. The reflections of the local historian are worth recording. "La prise de Chandernagore fut sans doute une perte pour l'Etat, mais elle ne fut pas funeste au commerce français et aux habitants, car, au contraire, ces derniers y trouverent une source de tranquillité et d'aisance dont ils étaient depuis longtemps privés. En effet, les anglais par une acte de générosité peu commune, dont l'impartialité de l'histoire doit leur tenir compte, assurèrent la subsistence des habitants dans des conditions meilleures que celles où ils se trouvèrent sous le gouvernement précédent."

The last act in the drama was reached on the 4th of December, 1816, when Mr. Gordon Forbes and Colonel Loveday delivered over the place to the Commissioners appointed to receive it by Louis XVIII. After the solemn hoisting of the French flag, we read that the officials of the two nations partook of an elegant banquet, where the healths of the Kings of France and England, and of the Governor-General of India, were drunk with every demonstration of respect. Ichabod! The glory of the settlement has long departed; and a most amiable administrateur and twenty-five cipahis are now the only remnants of French power left in Bengal.

It is to the student of men and manners that modern Chandernagore presents its most attractive feature. The French residents of pure blood may be counted on the fingers of your hand. They are content to "faire les colonies," as they call it, and after a spell of Indian service, will no doubt become Parisians again the very moment they reach the Boulevards. Not so, however, with the half caste topaze and topazine. They are generally quite ignorant of the mother country, so far as personal experience is concerned; but they boast of their descent as if they were born in the Rue de Rivoli, and not in this triste pays, by the fleuve sacré, or rather sacré fleuve, du Gange. The language they speak has somehow become mixed, like the blood. To many a demoiselle with the beautiful eyes and the wonderfully ill-fitting dress, who lives with her mother in a little house off the Route de Bénarès, may be fitly applied the humorous parody of Chaucer. "She spoke the French of Chander-atte-Nagore, The French of Paris she did all ignore."

The genuine French fonctionnaire cannot help being amused at the airs and graces of the olive checked family parties and groups he sees along the Strand of an evening. Their life, which touches so intimately the Boulevard on the one hand and the bazaars on the other, has come before him not only in the East Indies, but in the West. The slang proverb of Guadeloupe rises to his lips and may be quoted as a typical sample of anti-creole wit. "Bon Dié li qu'a fait café, Bon Dié li qu'a fait lait, Mais qui ça qu'a fait café au lait. C'est z'homme—là." Still more pointed is the cant saying of Martinique, which we had better leave untranslated in its native argot, merely remarking that "ish" is the equivalent of the Spanish "ijo," and stands for our word "son." "Nègue ish Satan, béqué ish bon Dié, milat ish pitain."

But a truce to such jesting. The clocks of the city have struck nine. It is the morning after the Fourteenth of July, and we, who have come down to the Fête Nationale to dance with the Chandernagore young ladies, have fallen instead to dreaming of its buried past. We have even formed an amateur record commission and called upon Monsieur le Maire to let us borrow the eighteenth century registers from the Mairie. It is there that we have discovered the marriage certificate of Dupleix and the information about Pierre Werlé. Mrs Grand's acte de marriage, however, is nowhere to be found, as the volumes for that and the two subsequent years have disappeared and may very probably have been put on the bonfire at Gyretty. Search must, therefore, be made for copies in the Ministère des Colonies at Paris.

Now comes clattering down the street the carriage, which must start at once if it is to catch the only train that will take us back to Calcutta in time for office. No leisure to-day to visit the religieuses of St. Joseph de Cluny in their trim little convent : no leisure to greet the good father Bottero and rummage once more among his dossier des vieilles choses. Monsieur Echallier, the successor of Dupleix as "Collector" of Chandernagore, is waiting for us on the steps of his Hôtel de l'Administration ; and the uncouth peon at the gate has already presented arms with his odd-looking halberd. Once more let us take off our hats to Chandernagore, the multicolore, the magnificent.

As we rattle down the Rue de la Gare, there lies before us the ditch that forms the boundary of the territoire français. The train is ready and waiting for us. "Où est votre animal ?" shouts out the friend who has stepped into the compartment before us. His query has evidently reference to our Madras servant ; and we assure him that the menial has mounted up behind. We turn our faces from the tumult and speed along

towards Calcutta. We have left French India behind us on the Boulevards of Chandernagore.

JULIAN JAMES COTTON,
Madras Civil Service.

APPENDIX A. Marriage Certificate of Duplex. 1741. Le R. P. François de l'Assomption, religieux Augustin, curé de Colcutta et vicaire de Vara pour le royaume de Bengale, ayant accordé le onze avril de cette année la dispense pour l'empêchement de l'affinité spirituelle, et dispensé de la publication des bans, je, soussigné, curé de Chandernagor, ai le dix-sept du même mois, marié avec les cérémonies prescrites par le rituel romain, M. Joseph François Duplex, écuyer, Directeur Général pour la comp^{ie} de France dans le royaume de Bengale, Président du conseil de Chandernagore, nommé Gouverneur des ville, citadelle et forts de Pondichéry, Commandant Général dans l'Inde, et Président du conseil supérieur de Pondichéry, natif de Landrecies, fils de François Duplex, écuyer, seigneur de Bacquencourt et de Mercith, sieur des gardes Sarrevieilles de la Bruyère, écuyer ordinaire de la grande écurie de Sa Majesté, fermier général et directeur général de la comp^{ie} des Indes, et de Dame Anne Louise de Massoc, âgé de quarante-trois ans, avec Madame Jeanne Albert, veuve de M. Jacques Vincens, conseiller du conseil supérieur de Chandernagor, née a Pondichéry, fille de M. Jacques Théodore Albert et de Dona Elisabeth Rose de Castro, âgée de trente trois ans. Témoins :—M. le Chevalier François Schonamille, Gouverneur pour Sa Majesté impériale a Baquinbazar ; M. Jean Albert de Sichterman, Conseiller des Indes et directeur général pour la noble comp^{ie} de Hollande à Chinchura et son épouse Madame Sibille Folkera ; MM. du conseil de Chandernagor ; Dona Elisabeth Rosa de Castro, mère de l'épouse ; mesdames Marie Madeleine Albert, veuve Aumont, Suzanne Ursule Albert de St. Paul, Rose Eléonore Albert Darboulid, soeurs ; et MM. Nicolas Louis de St. Paul, second du comptoir de Chandernagor, Louis Carloman Darboulid, écuyer, beaux-frères de la dite épouse.

Signé. Claude Stanislas **Boudier**, Jésuite, curé,

Signé. Jeanne Albert ; Sibilla Volkera Sichterman, geboore
Saoulyn ; G. Guilandèn, de St. Paul, Ravet, le Chr. de Schona-
mille : Albert veuve Aumont ; Albert Darboulín, Renault,
Guilandén, Dupleix, Desdezerts, d'Haugett, le Chr. Courtin,
Firiél.

**APPENDIX B. Marriage Certificate of Madame Dupleix's
sister. 1735. Darboulín (Louis-Carloman) et Albert (Rose
Eléonore).**

Le vingt quatrième janvier, mil sept cent trente cinq, après
avoir fait deux publications de bans le seizième et le vingt
troisième du dit mois et an, vu la permission pour dispenser
du troisième ban donnée par le R. P. François de l'Assomption,
vicaire de Vara dans le Bengale, moi, soussigné, curé de Nôtre
Dame de Chandernagor, ai reçu le consentement de mariage
en face de la Ste Eglise, de Louis Carloman Darboulín, natif
de Paris, paroisse de St. Eustache, écuyer, âgé de vingt six
ans et demi, fils naturel et légitime de M. Darboulín, secré-
taire du Roi et Couronne de France, et de Dame Elisabeth
Bouillerot, ses père et mère, d'une part, et Rose Eléonore
Albert, native de Pondichéry, âgée de plus de quatorze ans,
fille naturelle et légitime de feu M. Jacques Théodore Albert,
ci-devant chirurgien-major de Pondichéry, et de Dona Rosa
de Castro, ses père et mère, tous deux habitans à présent de
cette paroisse. Ont été témoins Monsieur Jean Albert de
Sisterman, Directeur général dans le Bengale du Comptoir
hollandais de Chinchura, Monsieur Joseph Dupleix, aussi
Directeur général du Comptoir français de Chandernagor et
President du Conseil y établi, Dona Rosa de Castro, mère de
l'épouse, Dame Jeanne Vincent Albert, soeur de l'épouse,
Dame Sibilla Volkera, épouse du dit sieur Directeur hollandais,
François Xavier Albert, frère de l'épouse, MM. Christophe de
la Croix, Jean Nicolas d'Hervillers, Pierre Renault, conseillers
du dit conseil de Chandernagor, et autres soussignés.

(Signé) du Champ, Jés., Curé de N. Dame de Chandernagor.

(Signé) Darboulín, Dupleix, Rose Albert, Sibilla Volkera
Sichterman, Ursule Albert, Rosa Ravet, Jane Cuert, Bruno La
Rivière, Albert Vincens, C. de la Croix, J. A. Sichterman, Al-
bert Aumont, Albert, Renault, Boulet d'Hervillers, &c.,

ART. VI.—SOME DEPRESSED CLASSES OF MALABAR.

THE question of the depressed races of the inhabitants of Malabar is a very interesting and important one, and deserves the serious attention of all who are interested in its social history. These people constitute our unquestioned aborigines, a study of whose racial life, manners and institutions, and a permanent record of them, will form a useful addition to the ethnological literature of the world. They are every year increasing in numbers, and threaten to swamp the country. The miseries incidental to their depraved conditions of existence are untold ; and the problem of the amelioration of that condition is every moment gathering additional prominence, much like the Pariah problem of the East Coast. They may be variously designated as *Cherumas*, *Pulayas*, *Kanakkars*, *Pariahs*, *Malayar* and *Kader*, and *Naidis*. There are also one or two more of these races found in parts of the country ; but they present much the same tribal peculiarities as those I have enumerated. I will now proceed to dispose of these in the order which their social circumstances seem to justify.

The *Cherumas* are a numerous race, and are styled in the vernacular *Cherumukkal* their name importing that they are sons of the field (from *Cherra*, =dam. and *Mukkal*=children). They are born and live mostly on the fields. They are a very inferior race and are regarded merely as agricultural instruments in the hands of the landlords, their masters, who supply them with houses on their estates and work them in a way little better than that in which they utilize their live stock. Their daily maintenance is supplied to them by their masters themselves. Every morning the master's agent summons them to his house and takes them away to work in the fields, in ploughing, drawing water from wells, and in short doing the whole work of cultivation. In the evenings a certain quantity of paddy is distributed to them as wages. Both theory and practice, in the great majority of cases, are that they are to be fed at the master's cost the whole year round, whether they work in the fields, or not. But it is very seldom that they can have a holiday, regard being had to the nature of agriculture in Malabar. Their children are trained from an early age in the work of their elders.

Their houses are little huts, generally built of bamboo and thatched with straw, or a particular variety of dried grass found in great abundance on the hill sides. Earthen pots constitute their only domestic utensils. Some of them live far from the

fields; while others live, particularly during the rainy season, on the fields themselves, in small huts on the field sides, or on the big earth mounds which separate them.

They are divided into families and practically have no recognised racial chiefs to safeguard their interests and to hold them together. But there are certain assemblies of elders, with a kind of chief at their head, invested with certain powers for the adjudication and settlement of disputes.

Their staple food is the rice which they obtain as wages; but any deficiency in the food which their daily wages bring them they make up in other ways, as by eating roots, fish, etc. Toddy forms their main article of drink. They do not eat carrion; but are extremely fond of fish, which, cooked in the poorest fashion, they reckon a delicacy. They have no peculiar customs worth recording; their whole life is spent in cultivation, and they show no taste for hunting or other pastimes. They are a debased and ignorant race, as timid as hares at the approach of human beings. On all important festivals of the year they collect at the master's house and are given each a fixed quantity of rice or paddy, with other articles and a small coarse piece of cloth to serve as a dress for the whole of the ensuing year. Their personal appearances is forbidding. They are a dark, muscular race, with much of their natural muscularity adversely affected by their scanty food and poor clothing. Their one piece of cloth they tie round their waists. They wash this only once or twice in the year; but, their work being mostly in the fields and in the open, it gets washed, with their bodies, in the constant rains which fall during the monsoon. During the height of the season they protect themselves from its biting cold by means of the fires which they burn inside their huts all night long and often throughout the whole day.

Their chief ornaments are, for males, large bunches of earrings and sometimes rings on the fingers. But the women are adorned with nose and breast ornaments, and rings on the fingers and even on the toes. It is worthy of note that all these ornaments are invariably made of brass. The razors with which they shave are in some instances rude iron knives which, during the operation, subject them to intense pain. Some of these races wear a front tuft, while others shave the head clean. Their females do all the cooking and take care of the children; but often they accompany their males to the fields and do such work therein as they are capable of.

They are a dolico-cephalic race, with medium-sized eyes and dark complexion. They follow the *maccathayom* line of inheritance, or descent through the fathers; and their household consist mostly of husband and wife and their children, if any.

Polygamy, polyandry and divorce are unknown amongst them.

They worship certain gods, who are represented by rude stone images. What few ceremonies are in force amongst them are performed by priests selected from their own ranks, and these priests are held in great veneration by them. They kill cocks as offerings to these deities, who are propitiated by the pouring, on some stones placed near them, of the fresh blood that gushes forth from the necks of the birds. Their dead are disposed of by burying. The whole race without exception are believers in the existence of a God, who, to their rude imagination, lives in the stone images of their deities; and some of them believe also in a life beyond the grave, while others believe in the total extinction of the individual, his spirit being annihilated along with the body.

The *Pulayas* are a variety of *Cherumas*, as also are the *Kanakkars*; but the latter can approach a high-caste man more closely than the other two without polluting him. These latter share the racial characteristics of the *Cherumas* and *Pulayas* and are a purely agricultural class living and working in the fields. The *Kanakkars* shave their heads clean like Native Christians, whereas the other two retain the frontal tufts, like the Nairs. All three are an extremely loyal class of people, devotedly attached to their masters, whose interests they watch and protect most jealously. On the death of any member of the master's household their families collect in the vicinity of his house and mourn the loss by beating their chests and crying aloud till their sorrow is assuaged, quite as naturally and unaffectedly as if the loss were personal to them.

The existence of these three races furnishes an instance of practical slavery in our midst, even in these days of advancing civilization. They are believed to be the slaves of their masters, who frequently subject them to inhuman punishments in case of disobedience or negligence; and their masters' commands and deeds are invested with a certain sanctity and inviolability in their eyes. They are the master's property, and can be sold away or otherwise dealt with at his will. The fact is that these slaves, or their ancestors more correctly, were purchased in days of yore by the masters or their ancestors for a fixed price, and hence originates the latter's unchallengeable authority over them. Any slave running away from his legitimate owner and joining the working ranks of another master, if caught, is subjected to brutal punishments at the hands of the former master. In the view of some people, such improper admission of a renegade slave is against the law. But such views are only theoretical in our days, and are no longer within the realm of reality.

The slavish nature of these races is illustrated by the following and like forms of address employed by them. They still speak of themselves in the presence of superior races as *Adiyangal*, i.e., he who lies at (your) feet. When speaking of their eyes, hands or other members of their bodies, they are required to call them *old eyes*, *old hands*, &c. So also with *rice*, which they mention as *stone-rice*. Their children are all *kidangal*, or calves, and their silver money is *copper cash*, or *chempin kasu*. They call all Nairs *Thanpurans*, or kings. These and many other curious forms of address used by them irresistibly point to the prevalence of an idea amongst them that they are only slaves, and their masters lords capable of doing anything with them. It is enough to say that, though their emancipation was effected as far back as A.D. 1854, yet it has only been nominal, and has not yet been carried out in its entirety; and people even now speak of slaves in some places, quite forgetting that the political doctrine of human *equality* and *fraternity* has been authoritatively insisted on since the advent of the British Government.

The *Parayas* come next among the races of extremely depressed life and habits. They are a lower caste of slaves, and more degraded, and their occupation is less honourable than that of the other slaves. They keep their top-knots, like the Nairs, and shave the rest of their heads. They are also a dolico-cephalic race, with sturdy muscular frames, dark complexion, comparatively thick lips, and a detestable odour. In some places they are utilized in agriculture, but more generally their occupation is of other kinds. They live mostly neither in the fields, nor on the mountains, but in the plains, and only in some rare instances on the mountains. They live in small houses built of bamboo and thatched with cocoanut or palmyra leaves, or with straw of dried grass; but in any case their habitations do not afford sufficient accommodation for more than two or three souls, or at most one family. They are notorious toddy drinkers and do not eat carrion; but those who live on cocoanut plantations eat beef boiled without salt, and chillies. Their chief food is rice, which they obtain during the day. Their meals are cooked in earthen pots of very rough patterns. They are very fond of ornaments. Earrings for their ears, rings for their fingers, are the chief of those worn by males; but the females have the whole body loaded with brass ornaments. According to a popular tradition, the *Parayas* are a race of Brahmin extraction, being descended from a Brahmin woman. They are to this day said to possess Brahmin characters and traditions, and some of them are professed *mantravadis*, or magicians, and are credited with tremendous powers over certain evil spirits or demons and

sought after in their mountain abodes by those who desire to wreak vengeance upon their enemies. There are minor *mantravadis* amongst those who live on the plains, too, whose services are availed of in casting out less powerful devils from the bodies of persons possessed. In the case of the more powerful of such magicians the process of obtaining their services is very simple. People visit these magician *Parayas* in their dwellings and they enter into mutual compacts, the former covenanting to pay a fixed sum of money and the latter pledging themselves to bring about the death of the enemy. Thenceforth all sorts of evil incantations are performed by the magician to accomplish the agreed result. Another and more inhuman way in which sorcery and witchcraft are resorted to by these magicians has a very curious ring about it. His aid being sought after against an individual, the magician goes through all the required preliminaries; and on the last day, accompanied by one or two assistants, he goes at night, in the disguise of a dog, or a cow, or ox, or other animal near the house where the victim is sleeping. The latter forthwith opens the door and walks out of the house. When he comes out, he is caught and is murdered, by breaking his neck, or in some other brutal fashion. This cruel practice is generally attributed to the *Paraya* caste of people. But it is practised by others as well.

In certain places there are temples dedicated to the subordinate deities of the goddess *Kali*. At certain appointed periods of the year these *Parayas* have to assume the garb of an evil deity, with large head-dresses and paintings on the body and face and tender cocoanut leaves hanging loose all around their waists, all these embellishments being of the rudest patterns. With figures such as these, terror-striking in themselves, dancing with tom-toms sounding and horns blowing, representing the various temple deities, they visit the Nair houses, professing thereby to drive off any evil deities that may be haunting their neighbourhood. After their dues have been given them they go their ways; and, on the last day, after finishing their house-to-house visits, they collect near their special temples to take part in the *Vêla* tamash.

Some of the *Parayas* employ themselves in making umbrellas with palmyra leaves for coverings and small bamboo-sticks for handles; and also in making large and tough mats of long thin pieces of bamboo material.

The *Parayas* are mostly believers in evil deities, whom they worship and control for personal services; and they are also believers in the existence of a personal God, who presides over their destinies. Their deities are represented by rude stone images which they place in their temples. Their chief

article of clothing is a small cotton cloth tied round the waist. Bathing is an institution almost unknown amongst them. They shave with rough metal blades. The *Paraya* is allowed to approach a high caste Hindu only at a distance somewhat greater than that allowed in the case of the three races of our slave population mentioned above.

The *Vettuvār* are a sect of people who are not exactly slaves, but whose social position justifies their classification amongst the slave races. They are confined to particular parts of the country, and live on the cocoanut plantations of the Nairs and other well-to-do-classes. They are not, like the other races described above, an agricultural people ; but are only workmen, leading a hand-to-mouth existence on the wages which they obtain for hedging and fencing cocoanut plantations, plucking cocoanuts therefrom, tilling them, and doing other allied kinds of work.

They live with their wives and children, and sometimes other relations as well, in houses small but more decent looking than the mere huts of the other slave classes. In point of caste restrictions they are certainly better circumstanced ; and their daily contact with the higher classes in the ordinary concerns of life affords them greater facilities for increased knowledge and civilization than their brother citizens of the slave races enjoy.

They are much addicted to toddy-drinking ; but their principal food is rice. Their condition is never so intolerably wretched as that of the other classes. They are sometimes employed by cultivators for agricultural purposes. Their females occupy themselves in the fields during the harvest season, but they do other kinds of work as well, such as making thatchings for on houses with cocoanut leaves woven after a set model during the thatching season about December or January.

Their males wear earrings of brass and their females adorn themselves with nose, finger and chest ornaments of brass or beads. The one piece of cloth supplied to them annually by the masters to whose plantations they are attached, forms their dress, both for males and females, which they tie round their waists. They do not eat carrion, but are exceedingly fond of fish, the flesh of the civet and the rat, and of some other animals not generally eaten by other classes of people. They observe death-pollution just as the higher classes of Malabar, and the periods of observance varies according to the particular class or caste to which their masters belong. For instance, if they belong to a Nair's plantations, such period is 15 days ; and if to a Brahmin's it is 10 days, Nairs and Brahmins observing pollution for these periods respectively.

The priests who officiate at their ceremonies are selected from among their own tribesmen, called *Enangers*; whose express recognition is necessary to give validity to the performance of the ceremony.

Their marriage customs present no striking peculiarities, and are very much like those of the *Thiyyars*, excepting that the feasting and revelry are not so pompous; in their case, they being a much poorer race than the *Thiyyas*.

Like the Nairs, they retain the front knot. But they are an extremely unclean race. The only offences of general occurrence amongst them are petty cases of theft of cocoanut, plantains, areca nuts and roots of common consumption amongst us. But in the case of the other races theft is not of such common occurrence.

The *Vettuvars* also believe in a Supreme Creator, whom they name and invoke as *Paduchathampuram*, i.e., the King who created (us), even in their ordinary utterances. Likewise they believe in certain evil deities to whom they make offerings at particular times of the year. They are not, like the other classes, distinguished by loyalty or attachment towards their masters; but are a very ungrateful sect, and their very name, viz., a *Nambuvettuvan*, or a *Vettuvan*, or a *Namban*, has passed into a bye-word for "ingratitude" of all kinds.

Next there are the purely hill-tribes whose abodes are confined to the tops of mountains and hills. They are mainly the *Malayars* and the *Kaders*, and also the *Naidis*.

The *Malayars* (from Meala=mountain) mean the men of the mountains. The *Malayars* and the *Kaders* are identical races living about the western and eastern sides of the ghauts respectively. In point of national characteristics, they partake of the nature of the aborigines of the country, and the Hindus of the plains above which they are found in a topographically ascending and a socially descending scale.

The *Malayar* language is a felicitous combination of Tamil and Malayalam, diversified here and there by the admixture of certain singular provincialisms. Their pronunciation is of a curious kind. The *Malayars* are socially superior to the *Kaders*, who are little better than savages. In physical appearance even the slaves are inferior to the *Malayars*. Each community of the Malaya sect has its own chief, who collects the dues from them and arranges their barter for them.

They mainly subsist on rice, wild game and arrowroot, and occupy themselves in the cultivation of small spots of *rali*, and in felling timber and firewood, which fetches them something to live upon.

Their main occupation is collecting honey and bee's wax,

and they are also famous as trackers in jungles, by which pursuits they manage to make up any deficiency in their means of subsistence. Like some of the slave classes, they are exceedingly fond of toddy, which they consume in large quantities.

Their ornaments consist of a long string of beads tied round the neck. Their women also are fond of ornaments; and usually wear strings of white and red beads round their necks, bangles on their arms, and rings on their fingers and often on their toes. Rigid endogamy is enforced amongst them, they marrying within their own village. Polygamy is absolutely unknown amongst them; but divorce is freely allowed for infidelity on the part of the wife; though it is a matter for eventual settlement by the villagers. When a wife is so divorced by the husband, she is not afterwards taken back by him; but may be re-married to another man. But cases of divorce are extremely rare. Their marriage customs have something peculiar about them. At a marriage, feasting of guests takes place at the expense of the bridegroom's father; and after the conclusion of the marriage he makes a small gift to the girl's mother and only a present to the daughter for her to buy a new dress with. The pair then proceed to a newly-built cottage erected as their future place of residence, where they spend the rest of their lives in such little comfort as they can derive from their straitened circumstances.

They believe in a Supreme Deity who presides over their destinies and supplicate Him through their tribal God who is called a *Mullung*, which is a stone placed inside a circular wall erected for the purpose. It may be surmised that they are practically an ancestor-worshipping class, the spirits of their various ancestors being represented by a collection of stones, one for each. Such spirits are invoked for help and protection from calamities of all kinds. Towards the month of April they offer sacrifices of honey and sometimes of goats; and failure to do this is believed to bring about their destruction by tigers and wild elephants.

One peculiar custom amongst them requires special notice. They repose a profound belief in the evil powers which they are capable of exercising over one another through their evil deities, who are their guardian angels. Hence, when one of them finds wax or honey on a particular tree, he takes special care to examine its bark, to see whether it bears any sign made by another in indication of its previous discovery and appropriation by him, in which case he religiously abstains from taking out the honey or the wax, lest any evil influence should be exercised on him by the previous finder. This scrupulous observance of the sanctity of possession by them

seems to account for the comparative scarcity of crime in *Malayar* life.

The diseases they commonly contract are not numerous. It is not strange that, living, as they do, amidst mountainous surroundings, and breathing the poisoned air of those regions, they are subject to attacks of malarious fever ; but they are their own physicians, who can cure themselves, and cases of fever are not very frequent ; nevertheless, they are subject to constant attacks of cholera. They are also believed to be powerful snake-charmers and to be able to effect cures in cases of cobra poisoning, with a green leaf administered internally to the patient, and applied externally to the part affected by the bite. They bury their dead, instead of cremating them.

The *Malayar* houses are of a peculiar pattern. They are raised on clumps of bamboos, which are all cut about the middle to the same height so as to produce an even surface high up from the ground. This surface is then converted into a sort of flooring by spreading planks closely all over it, and over the planks a thick layer of mud is beaten down and rendered firm. Then other planks are fixed perpendicularly to the four sides of the flooring, in a closely set order, so as to serve as walls. Over these latter is again put a roofing of planks, and openings are made in the walls, thus making a stronghold against the devastations of wild animals. Entrance to this dwelling is facilitated by means of a ladder made by cutting away the knots from a single bamboo outside the clump, and leaving only the root ends of these knots to serve as stairs or steps to descend or ascend by. The *Malayars* keep in their custody all the year round a number of very strong bows and a cluster of arrows with slightly spread out and sharpened iron ends ; some of which are kept always ready in their furnaces to be shot red hot at wild animals that approach them. They kill the game, bring it home, flay it, and dry it in the sun so as to preserve it for winter living. The *Malayars* are extremely devoted towards their masters, the owners of the mountains where they take up their abodes. They make presents to them occasionally of honey and wax. Instances are common in which they have shot and killed lonely passers by in the neighbourhood of their mountain abodes and robbed them of all their belongings. They are a sturdy, muscular race, endowed with tremendous physiques ; and their bows, their ordinary weapons of offence and defence, are incapable of being bent to any appreciable extent by our strongest-built men.

The *Kaders* are a socially inferior race to the *Malayars* and are found in the higher ranges of the ghauts ; their most

famous divisions occupying the summits of the Anamalai and Kollengode ranges. They are a short, muscular race of deep black colour, with thick lips like Negroes, but without the detestable smell of the latter. The *Kader* language is Tamil; and their various dialects are so curious and difficult that even Tamil-speaking people cannot correctly understand them. They are all under the control of a headman, who is also an authoritative referee in all their disputes. He also performs all their priestly functions, and receives in return a fixed portion of the proceeds from certain large trees and a certain percentage of the honey and wax collected by them. Their women wear dark-coloured clothes, or clothes rendered dark by their unclean life and habits; as well as beads, charms, rings and bangles. They are a lazy race, much averse to manual labour; but they are excellent at tracking game in jungles and in collecting wild produce therefrom; and they are also experts in finding good timber for purposes of felling. Their houses are collections of small hovels made of branches of trees covered over with leaves. They live upon trapped animals, wild yams, bamboo seed and other wild productions of the jungles. They also eat rice, which they obtain as remuneration for collecting wax and honey. They first remove all poisonous particles from wild yams by cutting them into small pieces and leaving them to soak in a running stream of water. During the winter season they consume arrowroot in abundance. They mix honey with arrowroot meal, place the mixture in the hollow of a piece of wild bamboo and sink the same inside the floor of their houses where it gets hard, forming a kind of sweetmeat.

Their methods of collecting honey and wax are worthy of detail. They carry on this business only at night time. One of them goes out with a basket hanging loose from his neck by means of a string and a glaring torch held in his hand, and ascends the tree on which the hive has been discovered, on pegs driven in one above another up to the point where the hive has been found. On seeing the torch, the bees get frightened and fly away, leaving the hive behind. Then the hive is taken out and is brought away in the basket carried on the neck. But if the honey or wax be found on a rock or a precipice, the process is different. A ladder is made of long canes stripped of the outer covering and twisted together. This is then hung down the rock or precipice, and by means of it the men climb down. It is in ways such as these that both the *Malayars* and *Kaders* collect honey and wax.

Strict monogamy is enforced among them. No relation on the male side is allowed to be taken to wife. The marriage customs are somewhat peculiar. The man who intends to marry

goes out of his own village and lives in another for a whole year, during which period he makes his choice of a wife. At the end of the year he returns to his own village and obtains permission from the villagers to effectuate the contemplated union. Then he goes away again to the village of his bride-elect, and gives her a dowry by working there for another whole year. Then he makes presents of clothes and iron tools to the girl's mother; after which follows a feast which completes the ceremony. Finally the couple return to the husband's village. Amongst the *Kaders* re-marriage of widows is freely allowed. In this important respect they may be said to be ahead of the conservative Hindus, whose orthodoxy is an insuperable barrier in the way of their national advancement. For conjugal infidelity the wife has to pay a fine to the husband. This practically converts adultery on the part of the wife into a source of income to the husband. If, in any case, the girl happens to make a fugitive connexion with any man, then the tribesmen assemble together, and, on the case being proved to their satisfaction, they unanimously compel the guilty man to take the girl as his wife.

Their temples consist of small huts inside which are placed rude stones which represent their deities who protect them from the depredations of wild animals, as also from misfortunes of any kind befalling them. During the Vishnu festival they come down and visit the plains with the *Malayars*, and on their way they worship and pray to any image they chance to come across. They are believers in the supernatural efficacy of witchcraft and attribute all diseases to the miraculous workings of that art. The *Kaders* are good exorcists themselves and trade in *Mantra vadams*, or magic. Like the *Malayars*, they bury their dead.

Being acclimatized to the jungle-poisoned atmosphere of their native abodes, they enjoy practical immunity from attacks of fever, but when they change their dwellings to the plains they become subject to such diseases.

The lowest race of people in Malabar are known by the name of *Naidis*, i.e., hunters (from *Nayaduka*=to hunt). They are a wandering class of people of disgustingly unclean habits, and so impure in their persons, food and dress, that hardly any member of the multifarious castes of Malabar will condescend to touch them. They are strictly prohibited from appearing within some hundreds of yards of a high caste Hindu. They drag out an extremely miserable existence in wretched hovels and subsist upon what they can get for watching crops against wild animals, and in the shape of charity from people passing by, to whom they ceaselessly yell and howl out till they obtain something from them. They entertain an

intense dislike for manual labour ; but are sometimes employed by sportsmen to serve as beaters. They subsist mainly upon roots and possess no knowledge of trapping animals or snaring birds. They also eat oysters, tortoises and crocodiles, which latter they capture by means of ropes and hooks. The flesh of these animals they bake and eat without the addition of salt and chillies. They seldom wash, being prohibited from touching water (or even climbing trees), for which offences they have to fast for a whole day. They generally cover their nakedness by tying round their waists long strings made of leaves and plants ; but some make use of clothes for the purpose. They are naturally possessed of loud voices, and, as already stated, yell out for charity. Many of them become converts to Christianity, or more frequently Mahomedanism, which practically shortens their distance of approach to the high caste population.

These *Naidis* employ themselves in the construction of ropes and slings with coir, yarn, etc. They live around the base of the ghauts and on the sides of the hills scattered over the various parts of the country. Some of them occupy themselves in collecting beeswax, gums, etc., from trees and bushes. Their marriage customs are simple and interesting. A large hut is constructed of holly and other leaves, inside which the girl is ensconced. Then all the young men and women of the village gather round the hut and form a ring about it. The girl's father, or the nearest male relative, sits at a short distance from the crowd with a tom-tom in his hands. Then commences the music, and a chant is sung by the father which may be freely translated as follows :—

“Take the stick my sweetest daughter,

Now seize the stick my dearest love,

Should you not capture the husband you wish for,

Remember 'tis fate decides whom you shall have.”

All the young men who are eligible for the marriage arm themselves with a stick each and begin to dance round the little hut inside which the bride is seated. This goes on for close on an hour, when each of them thrusts his stick inside the hut through the leaf-coverings. The girl has then to take hold of one of these sticks from the inside, and the owner of whichever stick the girl seizes becomes the husband of the concealed bride. This ceremony is followed up by feasting, after which the marriage is consummated. A girl once married can never after be divorced.

They worship a female deity, and about the month of March sacrifice a cock as a means of protecting themselves from all evils. They are credited with prophetic powers. When a man lies at the point of death, it is usual to distribute rice

kanji to these people, who, after eating their fill, become seized with the power of predicting the fate in store for the sick man. According as the taste of the *kanji* turns to that of a corpse, or remains unaltered, the death or recovery of the patient is foretold in their deep and loud voices.

It is worthy of note that the line of descent recognized amongst these classes is *Makkathayam*, i.e., through sons, or males. This fact *apparently* rebuts the presumption that the Malabar *Marumakkathayam*, or succession through females, finds its origin in the universal law of female descent which, as a necessary first step in the world's social history, is still found prevalent amongst various primitive races. The origin of female descent in Malabar is exclusively attributable to the Nambudri Brahmin, who, from considerations of policy and necessity have instituted this peculiar custom of reckoning descent through the female side. It is argued in this connexion that, if the origin of our female descent is to be sought in the universal law, then in the natural course of things such a custom should have survived amongst these depressed orders, who, as the recognized aborigines of Malabar, would have preserved their primitive method of descent, i.e., through females. But since they follow the male line in matters of succession, the origin grounded on universal law has no valid foundation. As I have already on a former occasion discussed this question, I do not now recapitulate my reasons in support of my position. But I refer to it here only with a view to showing that there are points of antiquarian or ethnological interest connected with these primitive types of humankind.

As has already been pointed out, all the races numbered amongst the depressed classes are known to reckon their descent through the male side. There is some difficulty in ascertaining this, by reason of their extreme poverty, which renders them devoid of any property in regard to which any succession may be recognized. But this difficulty may be got over by seeing which of the parents becomes the possessor of their children, who maintains them and the mother, and where the mother remains after marriage. In this connection, it may be noted that it is the father who maintains the mother and children; it is in the husband's house that the wife lives after marriage, and it is the father that retains possession of the wife and children throughout their lives, and the children's relations on the maternal side have nothing to do with them beyond visiting them occasionally during the year. Hence the presumption is that it is the male line of descent that these people follow.

In connection with our subject it is impossible not to speak of the indefatigable efforts which the mission agencies are put-

ting forth towards the social up-lifting of these races. The motives of these benefactors of mankind are truly laudable. By considerable self-sacrifice, and energy, they are preaching the Christian gospel in remote areas and are receiving many within the fostering embrace of Christianity. Thus they attempt by every means in their power to raise the social condition of these races and render them capable of approaching more closely to high caste Hindus. The conventional caste restrictions are hopeless impediments in the way of their personally representing their extreme wretchedness to the moneyed Hindus, from whom alone they can expect to derive any sensible relief. Acceptance of Christianity, besides conferring other boons upon these races, also considerably enhances their freedom of movement from place to place, which otherwise is beset with great obstacles. They have to make a long circuit to avoid the high caste passer-by if they happen to meet each other from the opposite ends of a fenced pathway. Such and similar are the inconveniences and difficulties incidental to their depraved condition. The bare removal of these disadvantages must, in itself, be a source of a great relief to these miserable specimens of humanity. The wretchedness of their condition is accentuated by the fact that wages are miserably low in Malabar, being about two annas and even less. There are, again, masters in the country who treat them little better than the old Romans did their slaves, allowing them only a pittance in the shape of wages and at the same time maltreating them by the cruel administration of severe caning and other forms of oppression, after tying them up to trees. These cruelties are practised only in the interior of the land, not visibly affected by the healthy influences of British officialism. The rapid and dangerous strides with which these races are increasing in numbers, coupled with the poor and meagre wages that their masters dole out to them, and their cruel maltreatment are matters which claim the earnest attention of every true lover of peace and reform.

T. K. GOPAL PANIKKAR, B.A.

ART. VII.—NORWEGIAN LITERATURE.

(PART II.)

SOME time ago the national poet of Norway reviewed the literature of his country. He introduced the subject with an allegory in which the representatives of modern European letters visited the American coast in the travesty of fleets each of which belonged to a different nationality. After remarking the Russian, and criticizing the French fleet of which each ship, despite her elegant hull, fine lines, and bright paint, bore on her highest mast an unpleasant emblem in the shape of a "death's head," he announced the appearance of an unknown squadron in the distance, that was at last distinguished as the Norwegian :—

"There was something taut and compact about each ship that had her special mission. Not a pleasure yacht among them! No deviation from the course! and, with a single exception, nothing elegant about the canvas or hull; but there was a thorough staunchness. Each vessel seemed a kingdom in itself; it united with its consorts through the force of circumstance, but each had its particular stamp."

The general aspect of this fleet was light, though on every part of the ships' fabric there was a dark stripe that encircled both the hulls and masts. The light colour, which symbolized the popular ideals, was marked, but not marred, by the stripe, which typified the long struggle between different tendencies and nationalities* in the social edifice. In the earliest traditions of the Norwegian people the dark stripe had been apparent. In modern times it denoted the immigration, the influence and rule of Denmark. Bjornson assigns the palm to the fleet of his country. In his eyes it is the best expression of the new era, for it brings a message of hope.

This modern fleet in being first hoisted its own flag in the year 1814, after the King of Denmark and Norway had ceded the latter country to Sweden. Then Norway declared herself an independent State, elected her king, and conferred on herself the most democratic constitution of the age. In the course of the same year, constrained by Europe, and invaded by a Swedish army, she agreed to a union with Sweden, after safeguarding her constitutional liberties.

For some time after these momentous events the country produced but little literature that is of lasting value. It was

*Late researches have demonstrated that a considerable part of Norway was originally peopled by a Finnish tribe, which was absorbed by its Teutonic conquerors, except in the extreme North

chiefly of a patriotic character, and a continuation of the national movement of the preceding century; and it found its best expression in song. The romantic poesy of Denmark, in which Oehlenschlaeger was the great representative, had scarcely been able to force an entrance on Norwegian soil, where descriptive poets sung the rugged beauties of their native land, and song writers inflamed the patriotism of their children. When Norway was menaced by a Swedish army, Schwach, whom his countrymen considered the greatest poet, wrote "Dana to the North," with the view of exciting his countrymen to resist the invader. It was a spirited song in which he reminded them of their ancient glory. He was the most brilliant of the trinity of poets, called "The Trefoil," that was formed by himself, Maurice Hansen and Bjerregaard. The last wrote the patriotic lay, "Norway's Sons," in which he extols her freedom; it remained "The National" anthem for some thirty years, until it was replaced by Bjørnson's poem, "We love that Land." Bjerregaard's chief title to fame is derived from an amusing comedy entitled "Mountain Adventures," the satire of which was chiefly directed against the partial justice of local officials. It still retains its popularity, and it enjoyed the distinction of being the first play written in Norway that was acted beyond the frontiers of the country. Maurice Hansen was the chief representative of Norway of the German Romantic School. He was a volubrious writer whose novels teem with ghosts, demons and obbers; his only works of permanent value are the romances in which he described contemporary Norwegian life, of which he has taught us more than all the remaining authors of his age.

But Norway had not long to wait for the advent of a great singer, the fresh voice of her renewed youth, whose strains rang with religion, freedom, love and humanity. Towards the end of the third decade of the century, the verses of a young poet began to attract attention. He was a student at the University of Christiania, but had passed his first youth at Eidsvold, and his mind was impregnated at an early age with the associations of liberty connected with that famous country parish. His father, a country clergyman, had been a distinguished member of the first Norwegian Parliament that had assembled there and had conferred a Magna Charta on Norway; and he had written some political pamphlets that had had a considerable influence on the situation. The most distinguished authoress to whom that country has given birth, Camilla Collet, who was at the same time the great champion of woman's rights in Norway, was his sister. His future career showed the impress left on his mind by a home

that was at once cultivated and religious. Even in his boyhood he was remarkable for his precocious literary ability; at the age of thirteen he composed a short novel, which was published in the leading journal of the capital; and he was scarcely eighteen when he amused the world with a comedy.

His character was original, and eccentric even. His heart was as precocious as his pen, and before he had passed his twentieth year, he had fallen seriously in love at least three times, had thrice offered "his hand in marriage, and had thrice been refused. In his "Sketches of my Life," he has related how he rushed from a ball "with a smothered roar, and three refusals in his soul;" and how he sprang from a barn bridge in order to crush his head against a stone, "but, not without calculation, managed to fall on the softest clover and grass." The object of his greatest passion was "Laura," whom he idealized in a poem, where he transformed her to "Stella," who inspired his muse in its most daring flights. One day he sent that young lady a basket of strawberries, accompanied by a suggestive verse from Tegner's "Frithiof's Saga;" "Would I were Your Frithiof, as you are my Ingeborg!" He received no answer, but the basket was returned, and he could not fail to understand: the Norwegian idiom, "to give the basket," signifies, in English, the final rejection of a suitor to the hand of a lady.

This unlucky incident marks an important crisis in his life, and, strange to say, seems to have brought to a conclusion his outburst of despair. "All sentimental dwelling on a lover, deceived hope," wrote Lassen, his appreciative biographer*, "was henceforth expelled from his manly nature. A lively impression of fair womanhood filled his soul and winged the flight of his genius; his erotic feelings were reduced to a moment in his life's view, and so strong was the idealising power he possessed, that it may be said his passion would have had the same influence on his future life if it had had a happier climax. For its immediate fruit—the erotic poems in the First Ring—clearly witnesses that the image of the beloved one in his thoughts had been subtilised to an ethereal womanly ideal, a symbol of the *Ewig-weibliche*, as he defined it in a passage where, he called 'Stella,' "the woman whom I only know when I am furthest from all women." His despair yielded to philosophy. In his "Farewell to Stella" he wrote that his life had been "the winter sun beneath the pole;—the golden rays of morn; the rosy flush of eve met with a kiss of joy: the whole day was one beat of golden wings;" and he concluded, that "death and life are but a dream."

* H Lassen: Henrik Wergeland

The poems he wrote at this period teem with the wildest metaphor. His thought was chaotic, or full of spheres—of world, and stars. He sunk to the nethermost depths and soared to the highest Heavens. From flight to flight he lightly changed his aerial course :

“ The blue deep thou wingest,
And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever, singest ! ”

With ‘ unpremeditated art ’ he poured out his full heart, and hence the freshness and even extravagance of his imagery : “ Heaven bears the moon like a white winged dove upon a maiden’s shoulders ! ” Water lilies are the “ stars of the lake,” and the song of the thrush is “ night’s flute.” But his youthful compositions were often overloaded with metaphorical phrases that disfigured and obscured them, as, for instance, in “ Napoleon,” which even native critics find difficult of comprehension. The sublime and the monstrous contend for mastery, nor is the grotesque absent. Shakespeare was his great model and favourite author ; yet he also indulged in imitations of Horace that were compatible neither with his own genius, nor with that of the language in which he wrote.

His rational religion and his aspirations for humanity were the theme of his first long poem, “ Creation, Humanity and Messiah,” which followed a Miltonic pattern. It was completed before the poet had attained his twenty-second year ; and, though it is certainly the least popular of his greater works, he himself considered it his most important production, containing his creed about God and mankind, to which he adhered throughout his life. He also called it ‘ the Republican’s Bible,’ and revised it on his death bed, where he curtailed and changed its title to “ Humanity.”

The first part treated of the creation of the world, which was watched by two spirits, Abiriel, a sceptical spirit, and Ohebiel, a gentle spirit of love. They had been metamorphosed from inferior beings ages before. After a vivid painting of the world’s dawning, a beautiful human pair are depicted asleep on a grass. They are the highest in the scale of earthly creation, and, following the example of the evolution of the two spirits, they are destined to transform until they attain a higher state of perfection.

Discontented Abiriel, not unlike Milton’s Satan, who sought it “ better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven,” preferred to share mankind’s fate rather than to be “ subject to long spirits.” He precipitated himself from the sky and took up his abode in the man, and Ohebiel, who feared lest his younger comrade should be dragged down by his connection with the woman, imitated his example with her.

The next part, “ Confusion,” describes the struggle between

the spiritual and earthly in mankind as it appeared in Adam and Eve's life, Abel's murder, &c. The strongest ill-doer made himself the first ruler, while the priest acquired power over minds through superstition and ignorance. Force and strength gain the upper hand, but there is a gleam of light in the darkness. From a state of nature, humanity gradually raises itself to a knowledge of the highest Being. Polytheism is replaced by Monotheism, thanks to the wise men and prophets, who herald the dawn of the human intellect.

"Messias," the last part, tells the story of Jesus. He is placed in antagonism to the priests, who strive in vain to control Christianity. The teaching of love and gentleness prevails, until it has permeated all men, and all men are brothers. The Millennium has then arrived, and the spiritual resurrection of Christ has taken place; truth, liberty and love have expelled falsehood, thralldom and egotism. Spiritualism has triumphed in "Messias," just as man's higher instinct has done in Confusion. So the prediction of Acadiel, 'the first born of spirits,' is fulfilled:

"Each king on earth, and each a priest for God!"

Wergeland's biographer has written a most interesting criticism of this remarkable evolutionary poem. As the last poetic outcome of the Eighteenth Century deism, he has demonstrated its European importance: "A great epoch, rich in consequences, of the history of European civilization, has reached its lyrical culmination in him, and a momentous phase in that wonderfully fermenting age, moved by so many new ideas, introducing the great revolution, has come to a poetic climax in Wergeland's poetic life. That this should happen in our corner of the world, is now not difficult to understand. Among the great leading nations, where life is so complicated, where so many views and interests conflict, the ideal of human life, that floated before the time, could not come to a poetic development: the reality was too hard and so, thus we observe that the voice of the Age, who is Wergeland's nearest intellectual kinsman, Rousseau, fled from lights buried himself in solitude with his philosophical dream-bol in our country,* with a new and politically blameless, where a view of the world whose watchword was to lead life when nature and primitiveness, could be poetically justified philo it really had a sound basis in a social life that renews life natural existence more closely than with any other ray: people. Hither came the spirit of history to us: the century's epilogue in Wergeland's poetic life!"†

* Norway.

† H. Lassen. Henry Wergeland.

He had already attracted attention by his political writings in defence of Norwegian liberty, and he was strongly opposed to the encroaching policy that was pursued by Bernadotte, the King of the dual monarchy, and his advisers, in their relations to Norway. When some of the inhabitants of Christiania, in the year 1828, on the anniversary of the signature of the Constitution of Eidsvold, "the 17th of May," made a harmless demonstration in honour of that event, they were charged by cavalry, and Wergeland who was present was roughly handled. To revenge himself, he wrote a farce turning the Government into ridicule. He now became the poet of the new Norwegian movement (Norwegianism's period). He set his followers an example; rejected Danish culture, to which civilization in Norway was so much indebted, and, indeed, all foreign influence on the home society. He dressed himself in cottager's fustian, which, as he said, best became a good Norwegian patriot, and confined himself to the national cuisine; for one of the leading principles of the movement was a return to a primitive simplicity, which was thought best suited to confirm the country's independence, and to revive its youth. Politically it was an open revolt against the dominant officialism, and it advocated resistance, with arms if necessary, to the curtailment of Norwegian liberty that was advocated by the Swedish aristocracy.

At that time a student was attending the University of Christiania, where he was a contemporary of Wergeland. He had a deeply poetic temperament, and was an artist by inclination and taste, though he was constrained by his father to study theology. Through the teaching of a passionately æsthetic tutor, Lyder Christian, he had gained a profound insight into the art of poetry. But it is said that he had produced nothing in the shape of verse before he read the first poems of his fellow student. He was so shocked at their obscurity and defects of taste, that he was induced to write an anonymous poem. In his eye's Wergeland's muse was essentially defective, and the movement of which he was the poetic voice was in a great measure a return to the barbarous past; his hypercritical intellect hindered him from appreciating the originality of his future rival, the author of "Messias," whom he flagellated with quite personal bitterness. He condemned him for "raging against reason," and for mistaking "a will o' the wisp for the sun," while "he spurs his Pegasus—a viper;" and finally assigned him a place among the mad men of Parnassus. Wergeland replied in the same bitter tone.

A *guerre de plume* thus originated between the youthful poets, in which Welhaven's pungent satire seemed to have the

advantage over the playful wit of his opponent. This contest was known as "the Scrap Feud," and derived its name from "Scraps," which were published by Wergeland, under the pseudonym of Seful Sifada—a famous courser in Ossian's poems, which were still popular in Northern Europe. The feud increased in intensity, and finally the students who shared Welhaven's views separated from the "Students' Union" and established a new association called the "Students' Alliance." The members of the latter were denoted "the Intellectuals," and laid great stress on intellect and culture, to oppose more effectually the primitive nationalism of the Union, in which Wergeland's influence was paramount. They founded the journal "Vidar," to which Welhaven was the principal contributor. Its title indicated its character. In Norse mythology Vidar was one of the gods—the divine spirit of light and water that, in Ragnarok, the great final battle between the gods and giants (the demons of darkness and disorder), slew the monster Fenriswolf, after the latter had swallowed Odin, Vidar's father. This journal, which had only a small circle of cultivated readers, had a brief and precarious existence of two years.

A few months after its collapse, Welhaven published "Norway's Dawn," and, with its appearance, in 1834, the famous "Dawn Feud" commenced. The strife was no longer an affair of students, but became of national importance. It no longer concerned a single poet and the worth of his productions, but a people's whole culture and the conditions for its intellectual life in the future. It was, perhaps, the most momentous literary polemic in the history of a nation; and it quite threw into the shade the contest that had taken place, two decades previously, in Sweden, between the Phosphorists who championed German romanticism, and the Gothic Alliance that opposed it with Scandinavianism, of which Tegner, the author of "Frithiof's Saga," was the great poet.

Welhaven had the courage to stem the strong national current, though he was certain that the victory would never be his. But valiantly he fought. "The battle is myself, and with my life," he wrote. He indulged too much in abstraction and generalities to be readily understood by the people at large, and this is especially the case with "Norway's Dawn," which was written in the difficult strophes of the sonnet.

He introduced that poem by a description of the contemporary state of Norway in a very pessimistic tone
 "Norway slumbers in her silver armour . . . there blood
 and water congeal . . . people are paralysed in three or
 four senses . . . so they have recourse to stimulants to
 save them from inward death, etc." In the country districts the

struggle was merely for the necessities of existence, and in the towns no effort was made to rise above talk, and, in particular, personal criticism. The capital, Christiania, was a non-descript place, something between a small town and a royal residence. Strondjem, the ancient capital, had distinguished itself in late years only by white-washing its cathedral. Alone the thought of the olden time, with its golden harps, inspired hope. Its brilliance was a sacred inheritance that could not be lost.

He condemned the political agitation of the period, and the movement in favour of an exclusive Norwegianism. The country required intellectual freedom, and not to reject foreign culture, without which no young nation could advance in civilization. There were, however, signs of hope owing to the security of the country, and its comparative prosperity. What was lacking was a strain of harmony, for want of which the nations' aspirations sank downward to a haven of pure materialism. His lament has a deep personal pathos and reference :—

"And many a soul that shuns the vulgar crowd,
And many a heart, of heaven the hallowed fane,
Stands 'neath the rock in Promethean pain,
Looks on the chain, to the hard granite bowed."

The reason why nothing flourished in the garden of intellect was that the people had not true enthusiasm, "that stream of sorrow and joy." The dawn would not come before the nation had roused itself from its complacent slumber ; but still there was a glimpse of light. The poem concludes with a patriotic apostrophe, which is now the watchword of every patriotic celebration :

"Peasant, thy native land is sacred soil,
What Norway was that must she be again,
On land, upon the wave, in nations' rank."

Jøeger, the author of the "Illustrated Literary History of Norway," denies that the feud which "Norway's Dawn" excited was really a strife for culture against its foes, as Welhaven held. He maintains that it was a struggle between two different directions in culture. Wergeland had predispositions that were really English and French, deriving from the eighteenth century movement and its continuation. They were political in the July resolution and St. Simonianism, poetic in English poetry, religious and philosophical in the contemporary periods rational humanism. Welhaven's mind had German-Danish intellectual direction. It had literary predispositions in German romanticism, in Oehlenschläeger's poetry and J. S. Herberg's critical works ; in religion it leant to the old orthodoxy, as it then began to revive and to take up a position to resist rationalism ; politically it first gave expression in

Norway to the great European reaction that, followed the movement in favour of freedom, about 1830.

Wergeland devoted himself increasingly to politics. He became, in 1835, the editor of an ultra-radical journal, "State Citizen," and a little periodical for the people in which he strove, not without success, to educate and enlighten them. He was most eager in their cause, and the faithful friend and champion of the peasantry* against the arbitrariness of the official classes, which then alone participated in the government and administration of the country. The animosity which Wergeland excited had at this period a pronounced political character, and in 1837 a conservative newspaper, *The Constitutional*, was founded, with a view to combat the opinions of which he was the spokesman. Among its distinguished writers, who were chiefly "Intellectuals," was Schweigaard, who was Norway's most successful financial statesman.

But politics served rather to excite than to arrest his poetical productions, and he wrote several of his longer dramatic poems with a political or social aim. "The Spaniard" was a bitter attack against the mighty European re-action that had been supported by the Holy Alliance. It included, however, a poetic description of the high fjeld, whose frozen beauty he has vividly depicted : Where no flower of our dream wakes beneath the summer sun ; the mosses brown are roses, snow lilies, and violets ice ! " The " Infanticide " and " Indian Cholera " are both remarkable for their strong denunciation of religious intolerance, that still cast its black shadow over Europe.

" . . . Why constrain :

The faith of reason to the mould of power,
Why in a wasps' nest ' prison honey bees ? "

A great change was now apparent in Wergeland's muse. He had profited by the bitter criticism of his disparagers and had chastened his luxuriant imagination ; henceforth he shunned the obscurities that marred the beauty of his earlier poems.

The " Dawn feud " was continued by another, called " the Campbell-feud." Wergeland had written, in 1838, a play entitled " The Campbells." When it was acted, the poet's enemies met in the theatre with the object of insuring its failure by their clamour ; but their hisses were responded to by the applause of his admirers, and finally a personal collision ensued in which the people who took his side gave his detractors a sound thrashing. This hostile demonstration was a signal service to the author, and ensured the success of a piece that could not be included among his masterpieces ; and when a learned critic wrote a review, that

* At that date at least three-fourths of the inhabitants of Norway were peasantry, who were strongly represented in the national Parliament.

commenced by denying that poetic genius was directly owing to inspiration, and concluded that Wergeland's poetic career was finished, the latter's triumph was enhanced.

In the same year he made a romantic marriage with a maiden much below his own rank of life, and brought his fair young bride to the little cottage he had built himself on Ekersberg, a hill that has an incomparable site overlooking the beautiful fiord and the capital. It was here that he wrote some intense love songs, in which earthly sense was refined to the most delicate spiritualism. In this respect, as in some other characteristics, he resembled Shelley, while he was not unworthy of the title : "Hearts of hearts." His happy passion, differing from his youthful amours, struck deep root in his thought-life. There was more than an outburst of feeling in his love poems, as in the "Blossom of Love."

"Once but a germ in my soul, only a dream in its thought,
Thought and soul is it now ;—like a cradled babe in my soul,
Only a dream in its depth !"

He had always entertained a sincere admiration for the king, his hero, who had carved with his good sword a way to two ancient thrones ; and the latter requited it in the interest he took in the poet's career. After his application for a church-living had been refused, he had been grievously disappointed—it had been his dream to become a devoted pastor, who would impress a new life into Christianity,—his sovereign granted him a small pension, which he consented to accept as a mark of approval for his literary labours on behalf of the people's enlightenment, and as earnest-money for their continuation. But when he was, shortly after, appointed "Royal Archivist" with a fair salary, some of his staunchest friends, who had stood by his side in all his troubles, broke with him completely and attacked him with the most extreme bitterness in the press. His noble and affectionate heart was so wounded at their conduct that not even the charms of his bride, nor of his new cottage with the "grotto" at Christiaunia, could console him. In some touching lines—"with death in my heart, a smile upon my lips, and sorrow in my glance since our farewell hour," he implored, but vainly, his dearest associate to return to his friendship.

The interval between his marriage and the rupture with his friends was the happiest in his life. He was the people's darling—"their Henry—" and the constant object of their loudly expressed applause. He adored his wife, his horse, and his little menagerie of domestic pets, and above all his garden. He loved his flowers, and he chanted their beauty so vividly, that their gay colours live for ever in his song, which is fresh as the scent of opening blossoms in Spring. His patriotic anxiety

was calmed : the storm that had been gathering over his country, had passed away, to leave Norwegian liberty more firmly rooted than before.

A severe cold, that changed to a consumption, brought his career to an untimely end before he had obtained his thirty-eighth year, in 1845. But in the years immediately preceding his demise, he had found time to compose some long dramatic poems, and, even on his death bed, where he lay for more than a year, while a people watched in tears, he wrote unceasingly, and produced some of his most beautiful lyrics and a long poem, and revised the darling labour of his youth, "Messias," that was then transformed into "Humanity."

Among the dramatic poems are "The Swallows," "Huysam's Flower-picture," "The Jew," "The Jewess" and "The English Pilot." They are extremely fanciful and written both in prose and verse, according to the poet's inclination. The first is remarkable for its deep sympathy for human woe, and was written to console a favourite sister for the loss of her only child ; the floral beauty of the second is comparable to the flower painting it describes ; "The English Pilot," which was almost his last labour, is an imaginative description of English scenes and persons. It shows a great appreciation of the English character, but is at the same time a scathing indictment of the English aristocracy.

Both "The Jew" and "The Jewess" possess a double interest, from the occasion of their composition and from their intrinsic merits. When they were written, no Jew was allowed even to reside on Norwegian soil, from which the race of Israel had been excluded by the country's Magna Charta ;—it appears that the indelicate extortions of some Jewish usurers during a period of intense national distress had motivated this exclusion. It excited Wergeland's wrath, as it directly conflicted with his humanitarian creed. He took the lead in espousing their cause, and wrote a pamphlet with the view of influencing the Parliament in their favour. He subsequently composed the poems to excite public opinion on their behalf. In "The Jew" we find the remarkable piece, "The Shipwreck," which describes the loss of a ship at sea, when all on board are drowned with the exception of one individual. Struggling with the waves, he is driven against a rocky coast. He clings with the tenacity of despair to a crag, but immediately the breaker that had borne him there dragged him back again : "Ah ! as if it knew that Norway, the renowned and free, would not shelter a Jew !"

"Christmas Eve" which belongs to the same series, is the most popular of all his poems. An old Jewish pedlar trading across the Swedish frontier, where he was not prohibited, makes one

of his short excursions on Norwegian soil on Christmas Eve, to sell rustic maidens the trinkets they have to wear on the great festival day. A fearful storm arises; but old Jacob, who has never failed his customers, still struggles onwards. In the lonely forest, where the icy wind lashes and the snow whirls in his face, he hears a feeble cry, and then another and nothing more.

He wanders further; the same sound arrests him again. "A hooting owl that mocked a child's shrill cry!" thinks the old man, and stumbles along. But the blast that has whirled a twisting column of snow above the wood, has blown one word, one single word past him. It suffices to impel Jacob, panting for breath, through the dust, to the spot whence it came:

"Again a whimper pules—and now so close!
His baffled shout against the storm returns
Whistling his lips between. Yonder! Yonder!
Ten steps again! there stirreth something dark
Against the snows! Perchance the wind that played
With a tree stump, just loosened at the root?"

It was a child, but it seemed dead. Old Jacob casts down his wallet, that holds all his wealth, takes off his scanty coat, winds it round the child's limbs, lays there the child's cold cheek, till it wakens from his beating heart:

"Up he sprang! But whither turn? His foot-prints
In the snow the snows had filled. No matter!
For 'mid the thunder of the forest cones
The harps of David's jubilee he heard,
Seemed Cherubim the snow drifts whirled aloft,
That pointed him with swan-white wing his path.
Felt, while at chance and hap he followed it,
God's hand that held Him in His mighty grasp!"

At last he perceives the gleam of a light, and drags himself with his burden towards it. He reaches the door of a cottage and knocks gently. To its inmates, who demand his name, he replies the Jew, old Jacob.

"Jew!" shrieked in dismay
A man and woman's voice: "remain outside;
'Tis but misfortune you, this house will bring.
"The eve, when He, you slaughtered, first drew breath,"
"I?" "Aye, your people! thousand ages through
Their dead fathers' crime they shall atone"

"What!
You keep to-night your dog within?"

"The dog
But not the Jew, and in a Christian house!"

He hears no more, for the hard words pierce him more keenly than the blast, and hurl him, stronger than that, into the snow, crouching over the child.

The next morning the couple behold the Jew still outside their door. "Drive him away," cries the good wife. "It is

Christmas day, and only look at the Jewish knave, how tight he clasps his bundle to his breast." They go outside, turn pale and shriek when they distinguish the glassy eyes of a corpse. They raise it up, open the coat, and lo !

"A child, her arms the old Jew's throat clasped round !
Marguerite ! 'tis their child ! like him a corpse.

Pale was the father, whiter than the snow "
The mother's cry pierced shriller than the storm :
" God us has punished ! not the icy blast,
But our own cruelty our child has slain !
In vain, if at the gate of Heaven we knocked,
As vainly, as when at our door this Jew ! "

" Little Gretta " had run home from a neighbour's house, the night before, to surprise her parents on Christmas Eve. She had been caught by the storm when Jacob rescued her. And the final catastrophe ensued through Christian intolerance.

The dead Jew is carried indoors, the child in his arms and still clinging to his throat, to which her mother presses them more closely :

" Our child she is no longer," so she sobbed
" For her he died, he bought her with his blood.
From him we cannot little Gretha tear,
For us must she to Jesus lisp her prayer,
Hither Father to beseech : to the Father
Will cry the piteous Jew ! — "

Of all Norwegian authors Wergeland has participated most in the course of events in his country. He was the poet of its youth and future, its great idealist, and the champion of freedom. He re-called his countrymen to the simplicity of nature, which he sang with incomparable freshness. He laboured unceasingly in the cause of popular enlightenment, of humanity, of a pure and rational religion, and above all of tolerance. His labours bore abundant fruit, and, though he did not live long enough to witness the triumph of the cause of the Jews, it was in great part owing to him that the decree of their banishment was cancelled. He knew how to employ ridicule with good effect, and his satires abound in a playful wit, and scathing sarcasm. As a historian he has no little merit, and in his " Constitutional History of Norway " he has ably and impartially described the great crisis of his country in 1814. At the close of his life a great historical movement commenced in Norway,—the revival of the study of the olden time from its poetic side through its legends, its ballads, its folk-lore. Welhaven, his rival, was fully sensible of its importance, as it bridged the chasm that divided the past and present, and his chaste and harmonious numbers have

saved from oblivion legend and myth. But Wergeland was too much absorbed in the pursuit of an ideal, in which he sought to reconcile faith with reason, and the progress of mankind with the primitiveness of nature, and his eyes were too dazzled by her sunlight to be able to discern in the twilight of tradition a new poetic dawn. He was the singer of the first period of the restoration of the nation, whose watchwords were freedom and patriotism, and his death nearly coincides with its close.

ARTHUR L. HOLMES.

ART. VIII.—RUDYARD KIPLING.

RUDYARD Kipling's success is chiefly due to two things: intensity and movement. If we think of his work as a whole, we pay immediate tribute to his intensity. We call up vivid spaces of gorgeous colour, full of rich tones and strong contrasts, and with a plentiful admixture of gilding, like a Byzantine mosaic. The broad and magnificent effect is gained by the accumulation of numberless small spaces of vivid colouring, all of the utmost definiteness, all highly burnished, and mingling in our imagination in rich, metallic luxuriance.

While we watch this highly tinted mosaic, with its broad gold spaces, figures begin to detach themselves from the general mass of colour: elephants, brown men, dogs, red-coats, horses, all running, furiously running. They are excited, and they carry us along with them, in their excitement. This is his power of movement. The two together are as stimulating and overpowering to the nerves as surf-bathing; and, in the dash of the spray and the swish of the water, no wonder if we forget that there are other things in the world besides surf; that there are shadowy forests, and mountains ribbed with snow.

It is only when we come to make an inventory of sense-impressions, that we realise how great is the difference in faculty between man and man; not so much between the less and the greatest, as among men admittedly of the first rank. Let me give an instance. Mark Twain will write a description of Spring which makes one's mouth water, so full is it of the luscious sense of young growth and budding freshness; yet from beginning to end he never uses the word green. He tells you, instead, that everything was so solemn, it seemed as though everybody you had loved were dead and gone, and you almost wished you were dead and gone too, and done with it all. He gains an intensely vivid effect, but it is altogether an effect of emotion, not of sensation. We feel what he is describing; we do not see it.

Again, Mark Twain will write of an evening when the moon was swelling up out of the ground, big and round and bright, behind a comb of trees, like a face looking through prison bars, and the black shadows began to creep around, and it was miserably quiet and still and night-breezy and grave-yardy and scary. And he will probably complete the picture by saying that all the sounds were late sounds and solemn, and the air had a late feel, and a late smell too. Here you have a train of emotions, not sense-impressions at all.

Rudyard Kipling's vividness is the very opposite. It is wholly a matter of sensations, of sense-impressions, appealing equally to eye and ear and nose. There is no emotion or sentiment at all. The sense-impression is transferred to us complete, and then he leaves it to us to call up whatever emotions his picture produces. Mark Twain, on the other hand, transfers to us the emotions direct. Here is a moon scene to compare with the other. Rudyard Kipling is describing Delhi, on a hot and breathless night. He sees everything; the moonlight striping the mosque's high front of coloured enamel work in broad diagonal bands; each separate dreaming pigeon in the niches and corners of the masonry throwing a squat little shadow. If you gaze intently at the multitude, you can see that they are almost as uneasy as a day-light crowd; but the tumult is subdued. Everywhere in the strong light, you can watch the sleepers turning to and fro; shifting their beds and again re-settling them. In the pit-like courtyards of the houses there is the same movement. The pitiless moonlight shows it all. And the writer, with as little emotion as the moon, paints it all, in vivid impressions on our senses.

His ears are as alert as his eyes. They note how a drove of buffaloes lay their ponderous muzzles against the closed shutters of a grain-dealer's shop, and blow like grampuses. A stringed instrument is just, and only just, audible; high overhead, someone throws open a window, and the rattle of the wood-work echoes down the empty street; on one of the roofs, a hookah is in full blast, and the men are talking softly, as the pipe gutters. Every sound is delicately heard, and accurately rendered. The sense of smell is not forgotten: "from obscure gullies fetid breezes eddy that ought to poison a buffalo."

All this vivid detail is to gain the same effect which Mark Twain reached by saying that the sounds were late sounds; high up and solemn, and the smells were late smells, too. And against Mark Twain's mere white and black, Kipling has a whole range of moonlight colours, ebony, brown gray, ash colour, yellow, silver, and steel-white. When he paints the morning, Iris dips the woof: the witchery of the dawn turned the gray river-reaches to purple, gold, and opal; it was as though the lumbering *dhoni* crept across the splendour of a new heaven.

Take another piece of vivid colouring, in a wholly different field; the description of Jan Chiun's tiger: "Jazily as a goiged snake, he dragged himself out of the cave, and stood yawning and blinking at the entrance. The sunlight fell upon his flat right side, and Chinn wondered. Never had he seen a tiger marked after this fashion. Except for his head, which was strikingly barred, he was dappled—not striped, but dappled like a

child's rocking-horse, in richest shades of smoky black on red gold. That portion of his belly and throat which should have been white was orange, and his tail and paws were black.

We could almost draw a picture of the tiger, after reading this. Yet, oddly enough, the artist who illustrated the story, leaves out all these distinctive marks. Perhaps he had not the nerve to draw a tiger dappled like a rocking-horse, just as the artist of another picture leaves two ships half a mile apart, when Kipling tells us only fifty yards separated them. Again, why draw an American locomotive with a cow-catcher on the Ganges bridge? These are mistakes of a type which Kipling himself religiously or perhaps we should say, intuitively, avoids. It is noteworthy, on the other hand, that we take his tiger very quietly; it does not give us creeps and thrills and chills, as it would if Mark Twain were the showman. Kipling is all sensation, with hardly any emotion at all.

Rudyard Kipling's colour-sense comes out strongest just where the pencils of other writers begin to grow indefinite and dim. For example, he tells a story of a wicked ship in a mysterious sea, whose position on the map he keeps carefully concealed, and he paints that ship half-a-dozen times, each time in different colours. In one case, she turns up painted a dull slate-colour, with pure saffron funnel, and boats of robin's egg-blue. That, by the way, is as much a Shibboleth as "Worcestershire sauce." It is American, not English. For the English robin, the original bird, lays white eggs with pink specks, while its American namesake, who is really a thrush, does, as Kipling says, lay blue eggs. We may safely trace that touch to a Spring spent in Vermont. To return to the wicked ship; the crew sit on the empty decks, and the green harbour-water chuckled at them overside. Then they began to dig about in the hull; the engine-room stores were unearthed, and Mr. Wardrop's face, red with the filth of the bilges, and the exertion of travelling on his stomach, lit with joy. The excavations and colour-touches continue: "the skipper unearthed some stale, ropy paint of the loathsome green that they use for the galleys of sailing-ships". These things happened "in a semi-inland sea, warm, still, and blue, which is, perhaps, the most strictly preserved water in the world". Where it is, he will not tell; but from the details, the color and smell of it, we gather that it is the Aratura sea, under N. Guinea. The deep water is blue, the shoal harbour is green, and all the various shades of paint are recorded with convincing exactness.

That is characteristic of Kipling, all along. He never misses a point of colour. Take this, for instance: "The young blood turned his cheeks scarlet. Maisie was picking grass-

tufts and throwing them down the slope at a yellow sea-poppy nodding all by itself to the illimitable levels of the mud-flats and the milk-white sea beyond." We shall remember that lonely yellow poppy for a life-time; even though we are told that it grew beside a 'smelly' sea.

Kipling uses these colour-touches to gain the effect of what theology used to call undesigned coincidences; details, such as no one could conceivably have invented. For example, when McPhee says: "I was with him on the bridge, watchin' the '*Grotto*' sport light. Ye canna see green so far as red, or we'd ha'd kept to leeward"; that really has the force of a revelation. We believe the whole wonderful yarn on the strength of that one piece of colour; we all had made that observation in a dim, half-conscious way; so are able to verify it at once; but we could never have invented it; therefore we believe.

When a Scotchman begins to talk of matters transcendental, of the soul, and the illimitable vast, and the halls of echoing eternity, we at once suspect that he has been drinking. When Mr. Kipling begins to positively sparkle with dazzlingly true details, we know that he is going to tell an unusually big one. For instance, what could beat the circumstantial evidence and the minute observation of this: "some six or seven feet above the port bulwarks, framed in fog, and as utterly unsupported as the full moon, hung a Face. It was not human, and it was certainly not an animal, for it did not belong to this earth, as known to man. The mouth was open, revealing a ridiculously tiny tongue—as absurd as the tongue of an elephant; there were tense wrinkles of white skin at the angles of the drawn lips: white feelers like those of a barbel sprang from the lower jaw, there was no sign of teeth within the mouth. But the horror of the face lay in the eyes, for those were sightless—white, in sockets as white as scraped bone, and blind. Yet for all this, the face, wrinkled as the mask of a lion is drawn in Assyrian sculpture, was alive with rage and terror. One long white feeler touched our bulwarks. The face disappeared with the swiftness of a blindworm popping into its burrow." No one who reads that matchless yarn, will ever quite forget that Face in the Fog. I never hear a steam siren without remembering it. More than that, I have still a lurking, involuntary doubt whether, after all, the story may not be true,—it seems impossible that fancy should carry that verisimilitude.

Kipling himself is keenly alive to the convincing power of these undesigned coincidences. In the story of the bank-clerk's former lives, he twice shows his hand. Thus, the clerk says: "Can't you imagine the sunlight just squeezing through

between the handle and the hole, and wobbling about as the ship rolls?" 'I can,' answers Kipling, 'but—I can't imagine your imagining it.' That is our position, exactly: and therefore we believe. He says much the same thing, a second time: 'Then her nose caught us nearly in the middle, and we tilted sideways, and the fellows in the right-hand galley unhitched their hooks and ropes, and threw things on to our upper deck—arrows, and hot pitch or something that stung, and we went up and up on the left side, and the right side dipped, and I twisted my head round and saw the water stand still as it topped the bulwarks; and then it curled over and crashed down on the whole lot of us on the right side, and I felt it hit my back, and I woke.'

'“One minute, Charlie. When the sea topped the bulwarks, what did it look like?” I had my reasons for asking. A man of my acquaintance had once gone down with a leaking ship in still sea, and had seen the water-level pause for an instant ere it fell on the deck.

“It looked just like a banjo-string drawn tight, and it seemed to stay there for years,” said Charlie.

“Exactly.” The other man had said: “It looked like a silver wire laid down along the bulwarks, and I thought it was never going to break”’.

There is an undesigned coincidence in the making, and his writings are full of them. What a witness he would be in an Indian murder case! Rudyard Kipling uses another expedient to float a new loan on our credulity, an expedient which has never been used so powerfully in the whole range of literature. It is in the story of Fleete, who got drunk and insulted god Hanuman, and of the silver man who avenged the insult by casting wolf-glamour over Fleete. The wolfishness came out in Fleete gradually; first, it was a longing for raw meat, and a way of tearing it, with his head on one side; then it was a disposition to roll in the fresh earth of the flower-beds: 'Fleete came, and when the lamps were brought, we saw that he was literally plastered with dirt from head to foot. He must have been rolling in the garden. He shrank from the light and went to his room. His eyes were horrible to look at. There was a green light behind them, not in them, if you understand, and the man's lower lip hung down.' As the wolf-spirit got hold of him, he went to the window, to howl to the wolves in the darkness, and the howling fit gathered strength, till his friends bound and gagged him. Then comes the new expedient to establish the undesigned coincidence: 'any one entering the room would have believed that we were curing a wolf's pelt. That was the most loathsome accessory of all.' This is enlarged on, later: 'On the

next day one other curious thing happened which frightened me as much as anything in all the night's work. When Fleete was dressed he came into the dining-room and sniffed. He had a quaint way of moving his nose when he sniffed. "Horrid doggy smell, here," said he. "You should really keep those terriers in better order. Try sulphur, Strick."

This extraordinary and wholly unexpected appeal to the sense of smell gives the thing an earthy reality that is simply unrivalled. We cannot imagine anyone imagining a detail like that, so we accept the rest of the tale. As Kipling says: 'The smell was entirely real.' In reality, we all remember smells with astonishing accuracy and vividness. Bulwer Lytton speaks of the scent of lily-of-the-valley calling up a whole scene of by-gone years; Turgenieff tells how the odour of a particular field flower, when he came across it abroad, used to send him home to his Russian woods; and Hardy carries something of the perfume of the meadows into his books. But nowhere is there anything to compare for a moment with Kipling's marvellous sense of smell, and he always uses it to bring the last degree of material embodiment to his most impossible fictions. Thus he made his sea-monster announce its presence by 'a poisonous rank smell in the cold air,' like the odour of musk, or the breath of a crocodile. And he makes the great alligator in the pool of the Cow's Mouth declare itself in the same way. This does not make for pretty writing; but it does make for the material presence of the thing described. Mark Twain knows the value of smells as evidence of reality, but he writes of them like an impressionist and a mystic; while Rudyard Kipling is a realist of the school of earth-to-earth.

Kipling uses smells to support his toughest yarns. But he also uses them, with marvellous effect, to bring out his true pictures. Thus he writes: 'It was a hot, dark, breathless evening, heavy with the smell of the newly watered Mall. The flowers in the Club gardens were dead and black on their stalks, the little lotus-pond was 'a circle of caked mud, and the tamarisk trees were white with the dust of weeks.' Almost all the reality of this, and its convincing power, comes from that touch of the smell of newly watered dust. Again: 'The tide ran out nearly two miles on that coast and the many-coloured mudbanks, touched by the sun, sent up a lamentable smell of dead weed.' The reality and effect come from the same cause.

One might pursue this inventory through all the senses, adding stroke after stroke of marvellous vividness and power. I shall give only one instance more, this time, of the fineness of his ear: 'If you lay your ear to the side of the cabin, the

next time you are in a steamer, you will hear hundreds of little voices in every direction, thrilling and buzzing, and whispering and popping, and gurgling and sobbing and squeaking, exactly like a telephone in a thunderstorm. Wooden ships shuiek and growl and grunt, but iron vessels throb and quiver through all their hundreds of ribs and thousands of rivets.' This minute and accurate registering of sounds keeps him in all his ways; and he is perfectly conscious about it, and uses it consistently to make evidence, to heighten realism.

Rudyard Kipling never by any chance drifts into impressionism or generalities. He is true to the senses throughout, always absolutely definite and precise. A general impression is the fine essence distilled by the intellect from many sense-impressions; it has no outward reality. The senses receive no general impression; everything they record is individual, single, personal. And in this Kipling is the man of the senses. He speaks, not of a troopship in general—because there are no ships in general; each one is some particular ship—but of 'the troopship Malabar'; a concrete fact. So his sea-monster had a voice, not like a siren in general, but 'like the siren on the City of Paris.'

He supplements this perfect definiteness by a curious expedient, which one may describe as gilding refined gold and painting the lily. He has already described something with perfectly stark and glaring definition. Then he takes it, turns it over, and describes it once more, from the other side. Let us take a few instances. In the story of a sick child, he has told us that sheets soaked in disinfectants were hung about the house. Most authors would be satisfied with that, and leave the matter there. Not so Kipling; he goes over the ground again, in this wise: 'The house reeked with the smell of Condy's fluid, chlorine-water, and carbolic acid washes.' Not disinfectants in the abstract, but these particular, definite, concrete, individual disinfectants. And note once more, the realism of the nose.

Here is another instance of the same thing, from the tale of the horrible sand crater, inhabited by the living dead: 'The crew actually laughed at me—such laughter I hope I may never hear again.' That is really complete, and almost any writer would let it stand. But Rudyard Kipling instantly lays on another coat of paint: 'they cackled, yelled, whistled, and howled as I walked in their midst.' A few lines further on, he writes: 'I gave him all the money in my possession'—here most novelists would stop, but he goes on,—'Rs. 9-8-5—nine rupees, eight annas, and five pie—for I always keep small change as *bakshish* when I am in camp.'

Immediately afterwards, the same thing occurs again: 'I

fell to thinking that a man does not carry exploded cartridge cases, especially browns, which will not bear loading twice, about with him when shooting.' Thus he gives the screw an extra turn. And it is with this expedient, just as it was with the sense of smell; he brings it in with the greatest force when he has something particularly impossible to bolster up. For instance, in the tale of the were-wolf spell that was cast on Fleete, he doubles his work in the same way. He has already told us that Fleete was very drunk indeed. But that is not enough. He goes on to present us with Fleete's liquor-bill for the evening: 'Fleete began the night with sherry and bitters, drank Champagne steadily up to dessert, then raw, rasping Capri with all the strength of whiskey, took Benedictine to his coffee, four or five whiskies and sodas to improve his pool strokes, beer and bones at half past two, winding up with old brandy.' That is throwing a perfume on the violet, without a doubt. The result of it is, that when we are told, later on, that Fleete indulged in some very wild buffoonery, we are thoroughly prepared to believe it, and the solid, definite, concrete air of fact comes under us like a prop, when we begin to stagger at the witch-like doings in the sequel.

The Man who would be King furnishes two or three touches of doubled verisimilitude, of the same character. To begin with, Rudyard Kipling tells us that 'there had been a deficit in the budget, which necessitated travelling, not second class, which is only half as dear as first class, but by Intermediate, which is very awful indeed.' In this sentence, he conveys three precise pieces of information; first, the ratio between first and second-class fares on Indian railroads; then, the fact that, between second and third class, there is an intermediate class; and, lastly, that this was the class he travelled by. All this produces an atmosphere of railway-station, which makes a solid starting point of realised fact, to set out from; and if we get started on the firm ground of fact, we follow much more confidently across the morass of fiction. In the same tale, instead of telling us that he took down a volume of an encyclopædia to look up Kafiristan for the Man who would be King, he says: 'I hauled down the volume *INF-KAN* of the Encyclopædia Britannica,'—because there are neither encyclopædias in general, nor volumes in general; it is always some particular volume of some particular work; and Kipling is true to the sensuous fact.

This absolute definiteness is simply another indication that he writes for the senses, not the emotions or sentiments, sentiments may be general; sensations are always particular and concrete. Thus he will not say that a woman had a

voice like a creaking wheel, but ; 'that woman's voice always reminds me of an Underground train coming into Earl's Court with brakes on.' And he will not say, 'he murdered his father's widow in cold blood', but 'he filled her up with red pepper and slipped her to death as she hung from a beam.' Again, he will not say 'a list of his lady's charms,' but 'an auctioneer's catalogue of Miss Blandyre's charms.' He will not talk of a mummy in the abstract, but will write thus : 'The dry sand had turned the corpse entrusted to its keeping into a yellow-brown mummy ;' from which was missing—not a tooth—but 'the left canine of the upper jaw.'

The result of all this gilding of gold is, that he attains to a material and concrete solidity of fact which has never been equalled : add this, entirely without regard to whether he is telling the truth or inventing wild chimeras ; and indeed he pulls himself together for all his finest efforts, when he enters the Barony of Münchhausen, and walks arm in arm with Ananias. The stiffer the jump, the better he rises to it.

So that, when we talk about Rudyard Kipling's intensity, his power of receiving and transferring to us sense impressions of the utmost vividness, we mean a perfectly definite thing, which can be exactly measured and described, and is susceptible of accurate analysis. But it must not for a moment be supposed that he came by his results by any process of calculation or analysis ; with him, this power is innate, instinctive, a matter of intuition. He could never have reached it by taking thought. Rudyard Kiplings are born, not made.

Now that we have settled in our minds what we mean by his intensity, we may turn to his other signal gift, his marvellous power of movement. We all feel the charm of rapid motion ; a gallop on horseback, a racing eight, a toboggan on a long snow-slope, have a certain high and potent fascination. And even to look on at these things, is to be enthralled ; a cavalry charge, the rush of a rocket, the scrimmage of a dog-fight, a hurdle-race, a prize-ring, attract us by their mere rapidity of movement, quite apart from our interest in the result. The swift movement is itself a power. And of this power, Rudyard Kipling's books are full. His men, dogs, and elephants are ever rushing some whither. He covers miles of ocean or plain, in a single story of a dozen pages, always at full speed, excitedly, and exciting us. In all his stories, something gets done. Situations develop rapidly, and are transformed before our eyes. 'People go out for a gallop, or charge up a ravine, or chase tigers, or cross oceans, or climb mountains,—on horseback, by preference. And we follow with rapt attention, and bated breath.

Watch how this energy actually works out, in any of his

books. Take *The Day's Work*, for example. In the first story, we have all the stir and bustle of building a great bridge ; then floods on the Ramgunga ; then a mighty wave coming down the Ganges, with " hailstones and coals of fire " so to speak ; the hero is swept " seven koss down stream " in a twinkling ; and carried up again in a steam launch. And, to help the sense of movement, the artist has brought a locomotive all the way from America to the torrid Indian plains. But for that, the author is not responsible. In the next tale, a herd of horses roam over all the North American continent, or at any rate, tell about their roamings. And they are followed by *The Ship that Found Herself*, which seethes with energy from beginning to end, making the passage from Liverpool to New York, and feeling every mile of the way. Kipling glee-fully ends :—" Next month we'll do it all over again." Then come the Chinn family, who travel a great many thousand miles between England and India, go forth to hunt tigers, and roam among aboriginal hills. The wicked steamer, who, or which, was always being re-painted, carries us to all the seven seas ; Magellan and Drake are dead, or they would die of envy. William the Conqueror and his brother travel hundreds of miles by rail, from the Punjab to Madras, then hundreds of miles in bullock-carts and on horseback, or even on foot ; then back again to the distant north. There is a tale of steam-engines, where Kipling " lays the miles over his shoulder as a man peels a shaving from a soft board." After that, a fast game of polo, full of the rattle and trample and patter of hoofs. More steamers strip the laurels from the great navigators' brows. A rich American crosses and recrosses the Atlantic, and gets mixed up with an express train. Then another rail-road story, a rapid emetic, and the smashing of many lamps. Finally, the Brushwood Boy, like the Chinnns, threads the Continent, slips over the blue Mediterranean, through the Canal, down the Red Sea, past Aden, across the Indian Ocean, up-country to his regiment, and then back again, to the house of his home.

If Kipling had only geared a pedometer to his pen, when he began to write, what a record he would have ! We are spell-bound with admiration at the splendid and tireless energy which goes into it all, and we are fascinated and enthralled by the swift kaleidoscope-whirling of his pictures. For sheer vigour of movement, as for intensity of sense-impression, he has no equal. He always writes with his coat off, and there is a horse saddled at the door, to take him galloping across country even before his ink is dry. *

This quality of rapid movement, in a purely material and literal sense, is distributed through all his books. They teem with the trampling of elephants, the marching of troops, the

rattle of regiments charging, and all things that stir and seethe. In the derived sense, the same quality or movement is equally strong. He never lingers over moods or tries to convey one definite and steady tone of feeling ; it is change everywhere. All things flow. Something is perpetually going on. We are kept moving forward, with great rapidity. And it may be said that whatever movement the eye can see, or the ear hear, or the senses feel, Rudyard Kipling can paint so that we shall see it and hear it also. He never falters. His hand is firm throughout ; and the faster the movement, or the more fugitive, the better he conveys it.

It is to be noted that he gets his very best effects of realism from pictures of moving objects. Take the incomparable vividness of Bagheera, the black panther : " inky black all over, but with the panther-markings showing up certain lights like the pattern of watered silk." One can see the glossy hide glinting, as the light ripples along it. Or take a touch like this : " He believes in throwing boots at fourth and fifth engineers when they wake him up at night with word that a bearing is red-hot, all because the lamp glare is reflected red from the twirling metal." Or later in the same story : " Ob, I forgot to say that she would lie down, an' fill her forward deck green, an' snore away into a twenty knot gale forty-five to the minute three an' a half knots an hour, the engines runnin' sweet an' true as a bairn breathin'." One can only note the movement of all this, and its vividness and truth, with boundless admiration. And he keeps it up, page after page, story after story, book after book, with energy unabated, unflagging, and glorifying in its surplus power.

Here is a piece of movement as perfect as anything that has ever been written : " ' Liner,' he says, ' Yon's her rocket. Ou ay ; they've waukened the gold-strapped skipper, an'—noo they've waukened the passengers. They're turnin' on the electrics, cabin by cabin. Yon's anither rocket ! They're comin' up to help the perishin' in deep waters.' "

In his earlier work, there was a great deal of animal magnetism. His sympathy went with rapid movement which involved muscular exertion, the fighting of men, the galloping of horses, the wrestling of elephants. There was a warmth about it all, a sense of human force, a smell of sweat, if you will ; but always the strong sympathy with the vigour of the animal man, or indeed, the man-like animal ; the feeling for physical exertion which is a mark of robust health, animal heat, strong nerve, muscular skill. His people boxed well, rode well marched well, ran well ; and we got a great share of the satisfaction which lies in doing these things, while we were reading about them. Let me instance this kind of movement by an

example, taken from one of his earlier books : " The water snarled and wrenched and worried at the timbers, and the population of the state began prodding the nearest logs with a pole in the hope of starting a general movement. Namgay Doola had scrambled out on the jam, and was clawing out the butt of a log with a rude sort of boat-hook. It slid forwards slowly as an alligator moves, three or four others followed it, and the green water spouted through the gaps they had made. Then the villagers howled and shouted and scrambled across the logs, pulling and pushing the obstinate timber, and the red head of Namgay Doola was chief among them all. The logs swayed and chafed and groaned as fresh consignments from up stream battered the now weakening dam. All gave way at last in a smother of foam, racing logs, bobbing black heads and confusion indescribable. The river tossed everything before it. I saw the red head go down among the last remnant of the jam and disappear between the great grinding tree-trunks. It ran close to the bank, and, blowing like a grampus, Namgay Doola wrung the water out of his eyes and made obeisance to the King. I had time to observe him closely. The virulent redness of his shock head and beard was most startling ; and in the thicket of hair wrinkled above high cheek-bones shone two very merry blue eyes.'

This strong animal magnetism was the determining cause which, amongst the myriads of moving things in the world, fixed his mind, with its wonderful vivid intentness, on those moving things which most of all interest the animal man ; on muscular energies, on dogs, horses, and the sports they take a part in. So long as he keeps to the energies and affinities of the animal man, and the movements and situations that flow out of them, he has a spring of interest, perennial and inexhaustible. The muscles of the arm fascinated Nimod, they fascinated Phidias, when he made his statue of Theseus ; they fascinated Michael Angelo ; they fascinate us to-day, so that Senates will adjourn to discuss a prize-fight. While a writer of Kipling's vividness and vigour writes of the energies of man the animal, he has a theme whose interest will last while the world lasts.

But his animal magnetism seems to have ebbed, while his love of movement and noise continue unabated, and he finds his interest in another direction, far less vital and sound ; in the whirr of wheels and the puffing of steam. But there is nothing essential or lasting in these things, nor does he appeal to a common and universal experience when he writes of them. So that all that part of his work which deals with steam-engines is marked by Time to be mown down, and carried away. A single change in mechanics, like the intro-

duction of an electric motor, and the whole thing will be antiquated ; a generation of change, and it will be unintelligible. But the muscles of the body will remain the same, perennially interesting, and the source of all power.

I knew a little boy called Arthur, whose nursery window looked out on a railroad. A train came past, and he watched it with delight. It disappeared, and his face fell. He began to cry, in a minute, sobbing : 'Wants more choo-choo : ' But his mamma could not re-arrange the schedules, so no choo-choo came. And Arthur was miserable. Rudyard Kipling is in danger of giving way to the passion for 'more choo-choo ; ' and, unless he checks it, all his work will suffer. I live in dread that he will discover iron-clads and machine-guns ; when he will waste his lavish power in vivid, assured, stirring pictures of ensouled iron,—which, after a few years, when the fashions change, will have only a museum interest.

Intensity, movement, animal magnetism, and a marvellous gift of direct narration are the things which make Kipling great. Let us now turn the medal, and see what are the things in which he fails. Let me suggest a whole vista by a single sentence : What about Rudyard Kipling's women ? Let us set a standard ; the women created by a single writer, in a space of twenty years,—Ophelia, Desdemona, Portia, Rosalind, Cordelia, Lady Macbeth, Cleopatra, Miranda, Isabella, Beatrice, Titania, Katharina, Helena, Olivia, Viola, Hermione, Perdita, Constance, Lady Percy, Mistress Quickly, Cressida, Juliet, Imogen, Marina,—taking only one from each of the greater plays. Now let us do the same thing for Rudyard Kipling, who must have been writing something like the same length of time ; or, instead of making a list of them, let us test the matter in another way. Try to write down, first, a list of Kipling's women ; then a list of the jungle-animals, with their Hindi names, and I venture to say that, in nine cases out of ten, the list of the jungle folk will be longer and more inspiring.

Now woman may, or may not, be the devil. That is a question apart. But there is no question at all, that she has long filled a large space of the horizon of human life. It may be a decided gain in Rudyard Kipling's spiritual prospects, but it is an undoubted loss to him as a writer, that he has almost no sense of the eternal feminine ; that he has a school-boy's contempt for everything like sentiment or passion, from Beatrice to Cleopatra, from Helen of Troy to Anna Karénina. He is profoundly interested in Adam, and all the beasts of the garden ; he loves their sleekness, their vigour, their natural beauty. But, with the arrival of Eve, his interest wanes, his thoughts wander, his attention flags. He does not really arouse himself again, till the Flood comes, and it begins to rain forty days and forty nights.

Kipling may say that he is not answerable for Eve's presence in the garden. But she was there. And she is the mother of all living. And her daughters fill not less than half the world. They still essentially resemble her, and a good deal of history turns on the likeness. But they hold no such place in the world of Rudyard Kipling's books. It is true that he writes about Mrs. Hauksbee, Kate Sheriff, Maisie, Miriam Lacy, and the rest, to say nothing of subordinate characters, like 'Mrs. Vansuythen, a tall, pale woman, with violet eyes,' and someone else's 'fat sow of a wife,' but we remain unconvinced. Rudyard Kipling's women have gender rather than sex.

This is one of the penalties he pays for being so essentially the man of the senses, rather than of emotion. It is all the material world with him, not the psychic world, to which sex passion really belongs. He is so wholly absorbed in gazing intently at what is before his eyes, that he has no free energy to note what goes on inside his head. It is true that he writes with some assurance of stay-laces, hatpins, silk stockings and so forth; but we remain obdurate. He even makes his rather loud Simla dames talk *chiffons*, but we all the time suspect that they are only Subalterns dressed up, like *His Wedded Wife*.

If Rudyard Kipling had sat with Paris on Mount Ida, he would have given the apple to Artemis because she was fond of dogs, never to the Lady of the Girdle; and Menelaus would have remained the respected head of a model household. All this may make for his hope in the hereafter; but no amount of eloquence from boiler-plates and pistons will fill up the hiatus in his books. In *The Day's Work*, there is only one story which turns on the character of a woman, and she wears her hair short like a boy, and is called William. In the same book, there are two fine racy tales, given up solely to the conversation of horses; and five in which the whole interest turns on machinery, talking machinery for the most part. This may be his mission and apostolic calling. Yet he will have much to do before he persuades the sons of man to 'pray to a low-pressure cylinder,' and do despite to Aphrodite.

Another weak point in Kipling's armour turns on the same exclusion of emotion by sensation. While he is painting a single episode, a single incident, a single movement, he can depend on the senses to guide him truly. All that comes within his field of vision at one time, will be faithfully and vividly recorded. But when he comes to string situations together, it is quite another matter. There, the senses fail; they cannot discover the causal connection. That must come

from his intuition of human life, its purpose, and its meaning. And his intuitions of human life is almost rudimentary. Take, for instance, the plot of *The Light that Failed*. The beginning, by the 'smelly' sea, with the yellow poppy nodding to the illimitable waste, is vivid and full of power. The studio scenes in the middle of the book are full of wonderful touches of colour, and those descriptions of paint which we saw Rudyard Kipling is so fond of. And the end, the fighting in the Soudan, is as fine as any fighting that he has written, and that is saying a good deal. But there is no vital and inherent union between the beginning, the middle, and the end. The development of events is not 'inevitable,' but purely fortuitous. There is no deep causal connection. For more is needed than keenness of vision, a fine ear, and alert sense, to pierce to the causal reality of human life; our fate is not a mere succession of vivid pictures, but a vital unfolding, with a perfect unity, an inevitable growth, moving through it all. Events come forth from within outwards, all the illusion of the senses notwithstanding.

The same defect comes out in *The Naulahka*. The American scenes at the outset are full of the vigour and raw, fresh life which one naturally expects in a town on the frontier of the world; and Rudyard Kipling is as convincing as ever when he writes of the magnate's parlour car. It is true that his printer, being patriotic, makes him speak of the 'spacious adornment' of the car, while Kipling really meant 'specious adornment.' But the details of nickel and plush lose nothing from that. And the characters are clear-cut, and life-like, so far as the eye pierces. But the moment the plot begins to move, Kipling's weakness comes out. Why should these good people be whirled off to India? If Kate Sheriff, who is as obstinate as a mule, must have a mission, why not to China, or Japan, or the Islands of the Sea? Why not to the Sheenies, whose dialects would give Kipling a fine opening? There is only one reason for that long journey: Kipling is strong at the Indian scenes, and must have his opportunity. And, once the pushing couple arrive in Rajputana, how vivid it all is, and how purposeless. Things do not happen like that, in the waking world. Compare the quite true pictures of the white man's powerlessness before the immovable, dreaming East, which fills all the tales written by Kipling while he was in India, with the pantomime fashion in which the breezy American 'makes things hustle' in the Rajputana of the Naulahka; and see what a world of difference there is. Again, having secured the coveted girdle of gems, why the sudden quickening of conscience, which makes the hero send it back? We are told that the virtuous Kate inspired

this repentance ; but, if she would not forgive the cost of a little powder, or the stealing of the jewels, what about the kissing of Sita Bai ? Is she expected to look more leniently on that ? That is hardly woman-nature. Or does the hero keep that part of the story dark ? Then why not keep the theft of the jewels dark, too ? In other words, the plot does not grow ; it is merely put together.

The same thing applies to *Captains Courageous*. As far as Kipling's unrivalled powers of vividness, movement, and assurance go, the story is fine ; and we feel the enormous gain in interest where man-power takes the place of steam-power, in the business of the fleet. But what a cheap frame for a fine picture ! The whole tone in which he writes of the objectionable, but not irredeemable, hero, and of his rich papa and mamma, is as 'specious' as the plush cushions in that railway magnate's parlour-car. The fishermen are far finer fellows in every way, far honester and sounder to the heart's core, than the railway people, with their preternatural smartness ; yet the latter are plainly exalted over the former. No one with a deeper feeling for human life, and its real dignity and sterling qualities, would pay this cheap homage to a middle-class ideal, with its worship of the successful stockbroker, of the 'beverage,' of the glorified confidence-man under different guises.

Another reflection one is led to, is this : how far is the marking of Kipling's characters due to the dialect they speak, and how far is it due to the real and organic difference in what they say ? In other words, how much of the dramatic power should remain in a translation ? Does the difference lie in the manner of their speech, or its matter ? Is it something that could be marked by the ear, by alert sense, or is it something that must be felt by the heart ?

While Kipling is describing, painting vivid word-pictures, we see the characters before us. But when he is compelled to forego description, and write dramatically, the falling-off in effect is instantly felt. Take a comparison. Which are we likely to remember, the love-scenes in *The Gadsby's*, or the dance of the elephants in the story of Toomai ? I think everyone will decide in favour of the latter.

Therefore I think that Rudyard Kipling is deficient in the sense of the psychic side of life—emotion, passion, sentiment ; and also deficient in the sense of the causal connection between character and events. And, in the 'psychic world,' he fails most completely in the sense of sex. There are many moods in this one field. Herrick has given a charming expression to one ; Byron to another ; Burns to another ; but of none of the three is Kipling master. There is no magnetism about his women. They are not true daughters of Eve.

Kipling is the bard of the first Adam, rather than of regenerate man, with his wider and more universal interests. He has wit, rather than humour; fancy, rather than imagination; knowledge, rather than intuition. He has the gifts which, in another field, would make him a politician, rather than a statesman; a good regimental officer, rather than a strategist; a manufacturer, rather than an inventor. But he has these gifts in a degree that has never been equalled; that will, in all probability, never be surpassed.

If we turn to Kipling's verse, we shall find much the same strength, and much the same weakness. It is difficult to find a measure for verse; but perhaps we may best gain a standard by comparing it with music. In music, there are three quite distinct degrees, three quite distinct elements of sound, which may be combined in infinite variety, to make an appeal to the senses and, through them, to the emotions. And we can distinguish the same three degrees in verse.

Time is the first element of music. It is what goes into the beating of a drum, from the tom-tom of the savage to the war-drum of the soldier. The war-drum and the tom-tom of the magician are enough to suggest that, rudimentary as this kind of music seems, it is really of remarkable power. In their own field, drums will never be superseded. They absolutely dominate our emotions, carrying us away in a tide of common feeling, and, for the time being, overshadow the sense of our personalities altogether. The characteristic of drum-music is, that it is all in the same note; the rapidity and intensity may vary, but the pitch remains unchanged. For sheer violence of emotion, the drum remains unrivalled to this day.

The next element of music is melody, the variation of the note sounded, in addition to varying time. The flutes and pan-pipes of Arcady were the first instruments to give this new quality, and with it came a new theme. From the days of Theocritus to the Italian opera, melody has been added whenever mere muscular activity has given place to passion and emotion. Melody in music distinctively goes with the expression of sex, and the emotion of sex.

Third and last comes harmony, and with it a new field is entered. Harmony begins with overtones, and ends with orchestration and the tone-colours of Wagner; but its quality is the same throughout. It is an overlaying of one note by another; a blending of two or more notes, the enriching of a sound by a second sound; a double meaning, an added power, an increase in depth, as opposed to surface expansion. And this element is used in music to express the deeper sense of life, the daemonic power with which life is surcharged; the preternatural world, which we touch by inspiration and

intuition. It is the sense of another destiny, besides the destiny that the lyric poets embody in their love-songs.

So that we have drum-music, with its intensity and forward movement; melody, which is chiefly concerned with the passion of love; and harmony and tone-colour, which tries to embody the daemonic power.

In verse, there are exactly the same stages. There is, first, verse which is like drum-music, with intensity and movement, but without melody. There is verse which has melody added—the sense of the music of words. And there is verse with harmony added, rich in over-tones, with a second sense besides the surface meaning; an appeal to a deeper part of our natures; an attempt to express the daemonic element in life, which cannot be expressed in words. To this last class all the best living poets belong, though they are still in the stage of experiment, rather than of assured performance. They are trying to do, in words, what Wagner did in musical sounds, and even a small success in that attempt is of the highest value.

If we accept this threefold division of verse, we can find a ready measure for the verse of Rudyard Kipling. He clearly belongs to the first class, that of intensity and movement; that of drum-music and the magician's tom-tom; he has no great sense of the melody of words, and no very marked delicacy in choosing them. One cannot choose from his Barrack-room Ballads lines full of haunting, lingering beauty; lines that charm us by their very sweetness. And if we say this of Kipling's verse, we have already separated it from all the finest poetry, from the work of all the great masters of song. For what is song without its sweetness?

When we look at the matter of his verse, we see that it corresponds accurately with this measure of value. It is rich in stirring movement, unrivalled in the world of the war-drum, powerful in the weird throbbing of the magician's tom-tom. But of the subject of all great song, purely human passion, he has very little to say. The Ripple Song is far the most melodious thing he has written, and it is a marked exception, in having for its theme a motive of love. It is interesting, in confirmation of our threefold division, that when Kipling begins to sing of love, in this Ripple Song, he, too, rises into melody.

His last three works in verse, *The Recessional*, *The Truce of the Bear*, and *The White Man's Burden*, fully bear out what I have said. They are all drum-music; they involve killing and being killed; there are rifles and machine-guns in the background. It is the verse of man, the fighting animal; man still under the brute's thralldom to the struggle

for existence ; not regenerate man, or true human life at all. The Lord of Hosts, the fighting deity, is always a tribal god. Both sides invoke him with equal fervour, as they beat their drums. He is not the Lord of all the earth, who has an equal care for the brown man's burden, and the burden of yellow man, black man, and red. Had the yellow race first discovered murder by machinery, he, and not ourselves, would have the mission from the Lord of Hosts.

So that, in Rudyard Kipling's verse, as in his stories, we find the same twofold limitation ; he is poor in the world of emotion, of sentiment, of feeling ; of everything which rises above the animal man. And he is almost devoid of the sense of man's deeper life and destiny, which underlies sex, which underlies race, and binds all humanity together in a common soul.

Yet within his own limitations, what prodigal riches, what lavish energy, and vast surplus of power ! For intensity, for movement, he is unrivalled ; and while these powers are guided by his animal magnetism, he is the master of masters. In one word, his defects are his qualities, and his very limitations are the source of his power. For here he is not concerned with the more human side of life, or the feelings of man as man ; he has not the psychism of sex to struggle with, nor is he concerned with the causal element in our destiny. Therefore it comes that *The Jungle Book*, where it is altogether a matter of vivid colouring, of rapid movement, of animal magnetism, is, beyond all comparison, his most conspicuous success, the high-water mark of his achievement. Here he has never been equalled, and, we can confidently predict, will never be equalled. He has created a new world, and reigns alone as its creator. Every shade of colour is perfectly in place ; every motion is clearly discerned, and cleanly imaged. And through the whole runs a current of aboriginal strength and simplicity, the heart of man beating true to the heart of his first mother, the all-containing and miraculous earth.

When we come to find a place for Rudyard Kipling among the writers and singers who, for ages, have made glad the heart of man, lightening the burden of his desire, and drawing his eyes away from the shadows of his fate ; when we begin to seek among them all for his brothers and closest kin, we are led away from the bards and makers of our own lands, to the more luminous skies and richer colours of the East. But in the East there are many worlds. He does not belong to India of the golden age, with its dreams of our present immortality ; nor to Palestine, with its poignant passion and sweetness ; nor to Mother Egypt, in her mysterious majesty. His kindred are not there, but in a gayer land, and a brighter life. We can

see him greeted by his kin—in Samarcand and Baghdad ; in the days of good Haroun Alraschid. There, and there only, shall we find the same vividness ; the same inexhaustible wealth, which pours forth story after story, fascinating, bewildering, magical ; compelling our belief alike for god and man and genie ; for the things that have been, and the things that can never be. Rudyard Kipling finds his kinsmen there ; he is the great unnamed, who wove the tales of the Arabian Nights, born again among men, “in a new transmigration produced ;” and as, of old time, he let his fancy roam, telling now of Noureddin Ali and Bedreddin Hassan, now of the Lady that was Murdered, and the Young Man, her Husband, and now of the Third Calender, a King’s Son ; and from one tale ever wandering to another in unchecked luxuriance ; he feels the old errant impulse still, but has learnt to disobey it, remembering that “ that is another story.”

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

ART. IX.—THE MARATHAS AND THE ROHILLAS.

(INDEPENDENT SECTION.)

ASSOCIATED with the memorable administration of Warren Hastings, the name of the Rohillas is quite familiar to the English nation. The Marathas came into contact with them as early as 1757, and from that date to 1761, the year of the battle of Panipat, they were in close relations, while the Marathas were a terror to their country until 1773 when they were conquered by the Nawab Vazier of Oudh, with the help of the English troops.

The eleven years from 1750 to 1761 were the period of greatest activity of the Maratha nation. In those eleven years they carried on no fewer than 42 campaigns in different parts of India. At that time there was at the head of the Maratha confederacy a very able politician and keen diplomatist, in the person of Balaji Bajirao. He centralised in his own person the leadership of the Marathas and gave to their acts a uniform direction. During his headship all the acts of the nation can be brought into a single focus and shown to be the outcome of one policy, ordained by that statesman, or in other words it was the continuation of the policy of the great Shivaji.

Maharashtra was first unveiled to the attacks of the foreigner, by the invasion of Alla-ud-din Khilji. But the real annihilation of the independence of the nation took place when Jaffer Khan laid the foundation of the so-called Brahmani kingdom in the beginning of the 15th Century. That century, the century following and the first half of the 17th Century saw the nation under the bondage of a foreign rule. About the middle of the 17th Century men of thought and men of action arose. As Ramdas was a chief of the former kind, so Shivaji was the most prominent man of the latter type. Ramdas describes the fallen state of Maharashtra in the following strain: "Holy places have been destroyed, the abodes of the Brahmins have been spoiled, the whole world has been thrown into confusion, and religion has perished." To mend this state of things the great Sage suggests the following remedies: "Each and every Maratha should be gathered together and the spirit of the Marathaism should be spread abroad." Also; "A number of men should be collected together; all should act according to one thought, and all should fall on the Mahomedans with great vigour" and after this has to be accomplished then "what we have, should be carefully not thirted; in future more should be amassed, and the Maratha

kingdom should be extended everywhere." These utterances will serve to indicate in what direction the wind then blew. Towards the beginning of the 17th Century the mind of the then generation was filled with the one sole idea of the establishment of Marathaism. This spirit was a unique movement of the time. It had its origin in the monstrous cruelty of the foreign rulers. Marathaism included in its sphere Hinduism, but it meant something more. It counted under its ægis the Hindu religion as then prevalent in India, the re-establishment of the religion where it had almost disappeared, the protection of Brahmins and cows, the laying of the foundation of the national kingdom, the complete unification of India, under its leadership. In one word, Marathaism was the active form of Hinduism—it was the revival of Hinduism from its dormant state under Mahomedan rule. In the pursuit of this sole object, the Maratha nation directed its footsteps from 1646 to 1796. It was this object that Shivaji had in view at Raigarh on the 6th June, 1666. That day saw the nascent bud of the realisation of the idea, and the death of Madhav Rao II. in 1796 was the dismemberment of the flower.

The efforts of the Maratha nation from 1646 to 1707, when the death of Aurangzeb occurred, were spent in the establishment of the Maratha kingdom in Maharastra itself, and its protection from the evil designs of Aurangzeb. With the advent of Shahu began the reign of the Peshwas. It was the period of the enlargement of the kingdom and its appearance before the world as an empire. In 1718 Balaji Vishvanath proceeded to Delhi and extorted from the Emperor certain rights. From that point to 1731, the Marathas devoted their energies to the actual fruition of the rights acquired. At the latter date Bajirao, the second Peshwa, was at the helm of affairs. Bajirao died in 1740, and his able son Balaji succeeded him. The first ten years of his administration were devoted to the internal management of the kingdom, which had extended far beyond the boundaries of Maharastra proper. The death of Shahu, in 1750, removed the last leader of the Marathas, and Balaji found ample scope for the exercise of his diplomatic talent.

The Maratha confederacy was a very unique combination. It offers many points for consideration. It was neither an autocratic Empire, nor a republic. It was, so to say, the combination of both. Even Shivaji, in his days, had to conciliate the independent leaders of small bands, who may be likened to the Barons of Feudalism. Rajaram had actually to recognise their independence. In the days of Shahu, the Peshwas came to the front. The Peshwas themselves brought

into existence Scinde, Holkar and many others,' in addition to those already existing such as the Gaikwad and the Bhonslas of Nagpur. The supreme genius of Bajirao kept all in order under the nominal headship of Shahu. In 1750 it fell to Balaji's lot to assume the headship, and he proved quite worthy of the honour. Indeed, it was by his own talents that he rose to that position. At no other time was the Maratha confederacy centralised as under Balaji; yet at no other time were the revolts of individual members against this state of things greater than in these days. The most conspicuous of these malcontents were Malharji Holkar and Govindpant Bundale, and no person did more harm to the national cause of Marathaism than these renegades.

The centralisation of the Maratha power, in 1750, in the person of Balaji Bajirao, gave new vigour to the Maratha nation. An acute statesman and an able general, Balaji, both directed the campaigns going on at different and distant places and himself led many a campaign. It was the intention of Balaji to extend the boundaries of the Empire to the Southern Sea and in the North to the Himalayas. They also planned to conquer Oudh, Behar, Bengal and other outlying provinces. Sadashiv Rao, indeed, boasted that he would carry the Maratha standard to Constantinople itself, and, but for the disaster at Panipat and other providential mishaps, this might have been accomplished. During the eleven years commencing from 1750 and ending with 1761, attempts were made at one time or other to realise these projects. It was in pursuance of this policy, that the Marathas, as I have said, carried on no fewer than 42 campaigns in different parts of India. The most active and prominent leaders of this epoch were, Balaji, Sadashiv Rao Bhao, Balaji's young son, Visvas Rao, who were mainly occupied until 1760 in the South; Jay Appa Scinde, Dattaji, Janakoji, also of the same class, Malharji Holkar, and Raghunath Rao, who were engaged from 1757 in Upper India. It was not until 1757 that the Marathas found time to turn their attention to the affairs of Upper India. In that year Raghunath Rao found himself on his way to Delhi. In a letter dated the 26th February, 1757, Raghunath Rao wrote to Balaji, who was at Srirangputtan, to say that Ahmad Shah Abdali had arrived at Delhi, that the forces under him and those of Mulharji were quite inadequate for the purpose of fighting with the enemy, and therefore his prayer was that more forces should be sent under Scinde, Bhonsle and other generals.

In February, 1757, the Abdali returned to India. A correspondent writing from Delhi on the 6th April of the same year, says that Ahmadshah had sacked Mathura and taken the

fort of Agra. The Peshwa's Officer at Delhi, Antaji Manakshwar, fought a severe battle with him, but he had to fly and seek shelter with Raghunath Rao, who had neared Zanshi. An invasion of the Deccan by the Abdali was feared and the Nizam promised to make common cause with the Peshwa. But, fearing the summer heats of India and having wasted much of his strength, the Abdali returned to Afghanistan, towards the end of May, or the beginning of the next month. Raghunath Rao reached Delhi in July, 1757, and was much disappointed not to find the Abdali there. Two courses were now suggested to him—either to punish Nazib Khan Rohilla, or to conquer the Punjab.

The Rohillas were an Afghan clan, who, unlike most of the invaders of India, entered the Continent through the Khyber and other similar passes, and settled in one of the 'most fertile parts of India. They found in the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, immediately below the Himalayas, a model land to settle in. They also held sway over the western bank of the Jumna, a few miles above Delhi. In times of peace they would cultivate their lands, and on the approach of an enemy would fly to the gorges of the Himalayas, where they found a quiet shelter. The Rohillas were both the rulers and the cultivators of the land. But the chief part of the population were Hindus. The Rohillas, however, converted many of them and oppressed with great cruelty those who did not embrace Mahomedanism. There was no king among them, but there were several chiefs. At the time when Raghunath Rao was thinking of invading Rohilkhand,—Nazib Khan, Dundi Khan, Rahamat Khan and Said-ulla Khan were the most powerful.

In a letter dated the 1st October 1757, it is stated that, Vazier Ghazi-ud-din and Raghunath Rao having combined together, Najib Khan Rohilla was reduced to submission, and then both of them wanted to reconquer the Punjab from the Afghans. The submission of the Rohillas would at this time have been complete, had not rebellious spirits like Mulharji Holkar interfered. This ungrateful Sardar wrote to Dattaji Scindia that, if the Peshwa succeeded at this juncture in entirely overthrowing the Rohillas, their power would become undisputed throughout India and therefore it was in the interests of Scindia and Holkar that the Rohillas should be preserved intact. Dattaji did not approve of this short-sighted counsel. But Mulharji succeeded in deceiving Raghunath Rao, by secretly advising Najib Khan to feign submission. It is to this feigned submission that the letter of 1st October refers.

Raghunath Rao carried the campaign into the Punjab and took Lahore with great ease. In September, 1759, he again

found time to divert his attention to Rohilkhand. By this time he had come to realise that the Rohillas were as independent as ever and that their last submission was but a stratagem. On the 20th September, 1759, Balaji writes to Nana Sahib as follows : "The one or two letters sent by me by courier must have reached your presence by this time. The further information is that the whole army will cross the Jumna near Delhi and enter the Doab, reaching the banks of the Ganges. The affairs at Delhi have been accomplished. It is now proposed to enter the Doab, and then, having settled the matters of the Jats, Rohillas and Suja-ud-dowla, to enter Bengal, etc." This short letter clearly indicates what were the intentions of the Marathas at this epoch, and, but for the unexpected coming back of Ahmad Shah Abdali, this project would have been carried out.

In October, 1759, the whole army crossed the Jumna. The Maratha army encamped near Jalalabad. A letter of this time states that the Rohillas under Zabita Khan, Dundi Khan, Said-ulla Khan, and Hafiz Rahamat, with 10,000 cavalry and foot, met the Marathas and in two skirmishes were defeated. The Marathas burnt the villages up to the bridge of boats of Najib Khan and dismantled it. The writer of the letter thought that within a fortnight the Rohillas, who were encircled by the Marathas, would come to terms. Letters of submission from Hafiz Rahamat Khan had been already received.

As was conjectured, the Rohillas apparently came to terms, but secretly they requested Suja-ud-dowla to come to their help. They also sent messages to the Abdali, who came to Sarad towards the close of 1759. A Maratha army under Govindpant Bundale reached Jalalabad in October. During their progress, the Rohillas of their own accord fled from Sahalgarh, being terrified by a rumour of the approach of Govindpant. After the arrival of Govindpant, Hafiz Rahamat sent in a draft treaty of peace. But Suja-ud-dowla had already crossed the Ramaganga and was coming to their help. Ahmad Shah also, with an army of 40,000, crossed the Attock and sent his advanced guard of 15,000 men to Sarad. The Marathas were in a precarious position at this time; but matters began soon to improve, and the Maratha army, having crossed Rohilkund, reached Haridwar. In a letter from Haridwar, dated 4th November 1759, Govindpant writes : "I reached Jalalabad. There was Zabita Khan, the son of Najib Khan. He was helped by Said-ulla-Khan, Durde Khan, Hafiz Rahamat and all the Rohilla forces. In the almost daily skirmishes, the Rohillas were always defeated. This continued for ten or twelve days. The Pindarees devastated all the country. Upon this Nawab Suja-ud-dowla came to

the assistance of the Rohillas, and negotiations were entered on." The negotiations continued for some time, but were never brought to a conclusion. Even at this time the news of Abdali's nearing Panipat was received. From Sukratal, on the 8th November, the same correspondent again writes that having crossed the Ganges, he burnt the villages around and instilled such terror into the hearts of the Rohillas that they trembled in their own places. Sahaji Patil Scindia fought an indecisive battle with the Abdali; but, on his approach with a large force, the population of Delhi began to fly all around.

The return of Ahmadshah Abdali saved the Rohillas from utter destruction and frustrated the hopes of the Marathas. On the 11th November it is stated that, although the Rohillas and Suja-ud-dowla had effected a junction, they were unable to cross the Ganges for sheer fear of the Maratha army which was scouring Rohilcund at will. During the month of November the Marathas continued the war against both the Rohillas and Ahmad Shah Abdali. But the suspicious and dilatory conduct of some of their Generals, such as Mulharji Holkar and Govindpant Bundale, prevented them from offering a bold resistance to Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Maratha army in Rohilcund, however, held in check the combined forces of the Rohilla Generals and Suja-ud-dowla. In January, 1760, the Maratha army was at last compelled to return to Delhi, and their whole forces in Northern India were concentrated at that city to resist the advance of Ahmad Shah. The army never returned, except for a few months under Visaji Krishna Binivale, when the great Maratha revival took place, after the disaster at Panipat on the 14th January, 1761.

Leaving the affairs of Northern India in the hands of Duttaji Scindia, Jankoji Scindia and Mulharji Holkar, Raghunath Rao returned to Poona, towards the close of 1758. This Mulharrao Holkar was the canker in the structure of the Maratha Empire. He brought about the ruin of the Empire and frustrated the patriotic ambitions and hopes of his countrymen. He was duplicity incarnate. He maintained friendly terms at once with Najib Khan Rohilla, Suja-ud-dowla and his masters, the Peshwas. He had deceived the simpleton, Raghunath Rao, and endeavoured to play the same trick with the Scindias. But the faithful Scindias, without his support, marched into Rohilcund in September, 1759, and, with the help of Govindpant Bundale, who entered Rohilcund near Itawa, brought the Rohilla chiefs to bay. But the arrival of the Durani Chief, towards the beginning of 1760, compelled them to patch up a hasty peace with the Rohillas, and march their forces to meet the Afghan horde. It ap-

pears that in May, 1760, while at Sehere, Śadashiv Rao Bhao was thinking of humbling the pride of Najib Khan. By June of the same year, he had received assurances that Suja-ud-dowla had plainly told Najib that he was on the side of the Marathas and Najib should not expect any help from him. Bhao was also thinking of bringing over Hafiz Raha-mat, Dundi Khan and others to his side. These chiefs, who were watching their opportunity, all the time assuring the Marathas of their allegiance to them, began, in October, 1760, to waver when they saw the Marathas in difficulties. Suja-ud-dowla followed this hesitating course till on the eve of the great battle on the 14th January, 1761. And the pity of it is that these foreign enemies were, indirectly or directly, encouraged by traitors such as Mulharji Holkar and Govindpant Bundale.

The battle of Panipat paralysed the energies of the Marathas for nearly a decade. The flower of their army perished in the field, although not without inflicting an equally serious loss on the enemy. The wiry Maratha proved more than a match for the stalwart Afghan. Never after that did an Afghan army dare to cross the Indus, in the hope of enriching itself with the spoils of the Indian plains. The news of the disaster proved too much for Nana Saheb, the reigning Peshwa. He was succeeded by his able son—Madhav Rao I. For a time the home intrigues continued, but the great statesman soon brought everything under his control, and, half a dozen years after the battle of Panipat, the Maratha army again issued forth to spread Marathahism, with scarcely lessened energy.

It is an indication of the enduring energy of the Marathas, that towards the end of June (1761) they were found establishing their posts in the Doab and round about Delhi. Govindpant Bundale's sons wrote to the newly ascended Peshwa, Madhav Rao, that they had reconquered from the Jats and the Rohillas the territory which was lost after the great disaster at Panipat. But this activity soon came to a standstill owing to the quarrels at Poona and the struggle for supremacy carried on by Raghunath Rao, which removed the check of the central authority.

Led by their wily chief, Najib, the Rohillas soon took the weakened Maratha outposts on their frontier.

Under his headship the Rohillas forgot the severe losses inflicted on them by Duttaji and other Maratha Generals at Sukratal and other places, and their utter humiliation in having to surrender 400 of their ladies to the Marathas. When Najib died, the affairs of his country passed into the hands of Hafiz Raha-mat Khan, Dundi Khan and one or two other

leading men.* The Rohilla chiefs, during the absence of the Marathas from Northern India, managed to draw upon themselves the wrath of Suja-ud-dowla, who eventually extirpated them, with the potent help of the English. But before their final destruction, they had again to encounter the Marathas.

By 1767 Madhav Rao had succeeded in putting a stop to intestine quarrels, by confining Raghunath Rao in a fortress. Soon afterwards he managed to send an army into Northern India under Visaji Krishna Binivale and Ramchandrapunt Kanade, to wipe out the stain brought on the Maratha name by the battle of Panipat. This army marched leisurely, but surely, through Central India and Rajputana, levying tribute from various Rajput chiefs who had been resting all this time secure in the belief that the Marathas would never dare to return to the scene of their former activities. But they quite mistook the spirit of the nation and its then able chief; and in 1770 the Maratha army was thundering at the gates of Delhi. The affairs of the Moghal Empire—or what remained of it—were at this time carried on by Najib Khan Rohilla. Upon the unexpected arrival of the Marathas, he tried to raise the Jats and Rohillas; but all his efforts proved futile and he himself expired in October, 1770, from sheer dread of the Marathas. With this General there were Tukoji Holkar and Mahadaji Scindia. The spirit of revenge against the Rohillas was rancouring in the breast of Mahadaji, while on the other hand, true to the instinct of his house, Tukoji was in their favour.

After the death of Najib, his son, Zabita Khan, succeeded to the office of his father. This short-sighted man stopped the grant to the nominal Emperor, although he was aware that the Emperor had established relations with the Marathas. Enraged at this, the Emperor instigated the Marathas to invade Rohilkund. Mahadaji was waiting for such an opportunity. On the approach of the Marathas, Zabita sought the shelter of the fortresses of Rohilkund. Tukoji Rao Holkar wanted to screen him; but at last the Commander-in-Chief of the army sided with Scindia, and the Marathas entered Rohilkund, where they found Zabita in the fort of Sukratal. Of the veterans of Panipat days, Dundi Khan had passed away, and Hafiz Rahamat was not in a flourishing state.

In the meanwhile, the Marathas had to give their attention to affairs at Delhi. They had recently concluded an alliance with Shah Alum, who was then under the protection of the English at Allahabad. Visaji Krishna sent Mahadaji to Farukhabad to bring Shah Alum to Delhi, and on the 25th December, 1771, he was installed on his ancestral throne with great pomp.

In their last expedition the Marathas took possession of a portion of Rohilcund and acquired immense wealth ; but after the coming of the Emperor, a joint invasion was undertaken with redoubled energy. The leader of this expedition was Mahadaji, who was on the look out for an opportunity to extirpate the line of Najib, who had done so much harm to the Scindia family. The Rohillas held the passes of the Ganges in great force, but Mahadaji, by a brilliant stratagem, deceived them and utterly routed their army in a pitched battle. Zabita fled to the Jats. In his fief the strong forts of Sukratal, Najibabad and Ghosgarh were easily captured. The sons and family of Najib fell into the hands of the conquerors, and they regained possession of all that had been lost by the battle of Panipat. A Maratha detachment was sent against the Jats. The Marathas once more took possession of Rohilcund. These events disturbed the mind of Suja-ud-dowla, and he made advances to the English for help. Through the intervention of Holkar, a peace was being patched up with Zabita. Owing to some disagreement with the Moghul army, a battle took place between the Moghuls and Holkar, in which the former were utterly defeated. While these events were in progress and the Marathas were contemplating the invasion of Oudh and the capture of Kora and Allahabad, news came of the serious illness of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I. and the recall of the Commander-in-Chief Visaji Krishna to Poona. Madhav Rao died on the 18th November, 1772, and with him died the hopes of the Mahratha nation. By the time of Mahdaji's supremacy the Rohillas had ceased to exist independently. Time was given to the English to develop their resources, and they soon became a power in India. The attention of the Maratha Generals was henceforth directed for some time to the affairs at Poona, and at last, in 1773, the last Maratha outpost at Itawa was withdrawn and the dreams of a universal Maratha Empire for a second time came to nought.

Such is a brief narrative of the relations of the Marathas with the Rohillas, which lasted from 1757 to 1773. It is for the reader to form his conclusions ; but I cannot help remarking here, that, whatever Sir John Strachey and others may aver, it was from no fear of the English arms that the Marathas desisted from their original intention of spreading the spirit of Marathaism throughout the length and breadth of India. The fates were against them, and there is no quarrelling with the decree of Heaven.

In conclusion, I have to acknowledge the invaluable aid derived by me from the book recently published by my famed countryman, Mr. V. K. Rajawade. By the publication of the original records collected by him at the cost of

great personal sacrifice, i.e. has placed all students of Maratha history under great obligations. I refer to his book containing some Maratha records from 1750 to 1761.

CAMP INDORE, }
25th April 1899.)

M. V. KIBE, B.A.

ART. X.—MANGAMMAL'S FOLLY.

TO many a traveller or pilgrim wending his weary way along the Trunk Road leading from Madura to Cape Comorin has the noble avenue that forms so pleasing a vista come as "a boon and a blessing." So striking are those ancient growths of banian and naga that the mind is at once led to enquire whose beneficent hand planted them. Mangammal put them down, we are told; and by the name of "Mangammal Shalai" (Mangammal's Avenue) has that grand avenue been known for over two hundred years. Mangammal lived about the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. She was the last of the strong and vigorous rulers of the Nayakkan family who held sway in the kingdom of Madura after the Pandyan dynasty had passed away. Tradition says that Mangammal caused this road, with the avenue of trees along it, to take its course northwards from Madura to Kasi (Benares); and in her day the whole length from Benares to Cape Comorin was furnished with water-booths and wells to refresh the grateful traveller. That Mangammal had a naturally charitable disposition, her munificent expenditure on all kinds of religious works indicates. But it is said that the long, long road from Kasi to Cape Comorin was the result of an inadvertent act, regarded as a serious offence against religion. It would appear that one day she thoughtlessly put betel-nut into her mouth with her left hand, and she had to expiate her folly. This story, some say, is only a euphemism, and this woman, great of spirit and strong of purpose though she was, in a moment of weakness, fell, and was guilty of an amorous escapade, and, to avert the evil consequences of her folly, she performed the act of charity that survives her still. Here was the rift in the lute; and thus she strove to "minister to a mind diseased" and "to pluck out the memory of a rooted sorrow." Frail Mangammal fell again terribly once, and cruel were the consequences thereof. But we are anticipating.

Mangammal, be it noted, was not Queen of Madura in her own right. She was only Queen-Regent, administering the government for her infant grandson, who was crowned king when he was but three months old. To Mangammal did the baby king owe his life; and his rescue, while still unborn, has a touch of the romantic. When the King of Madura died, his only widow (for he happened to be singular in having only one wife), Mutammal, was far advanced in pregnancy. So inconsolable was she at her husband's death, and so poignant was her grief, that she resolved on becoming Sati, although there was every probability of her bearing an heir to the throne

in a very short time. Queen Mangammal now came forward, and, citing as a precedent her own case, when she was allowed to forego Sati, owing to her being with child shortly after her husband's death, dissuaded Mutammal from performing the customary rite. Her consent, however, was only provisional ; and she extracted an oath from her kinsfolk that she should be allowed to carry out her resolve eventually. After she was brought to bed, finding that she was being put off, it is said, she caused her own death by drinking a quantity of rose water. But some there were who whispered that Mangammal was an adept in the arts of toxicology, and that the field of the regency was too circumscribed for two.

Mangammal now held the reins of government ; and during her long regency she wielded her power with such tact, spirit, talent and enterprise that the kingdom of Madura soon rose to such prominence as it had occupied in the palmiest days of the great Tirumala, whose palace still adorns the City of Madura, and whose deeds of "derring-do" are pictorially represented on the walls of the famous Menatchi temple of Madura, where they may be seen. Mangammal, wise, prudent and strong in most things, was unstable and weak in affairs of the heart ; and during the last years of her regency her conduct was such as almost to out-do the Great, but infamous, Catherine of Russia.

Her Minister, Achayya, was the last to share that fickle heart. His personality overshadowed her closing days. There seems to be but little doubt that it was to him she owed in large measure the success of her administration. Achayya himself was a very god amongst men ; and when he stood in the assembly of personages around Mangammal, it might well have been said of him—" *supereminet omnes*." In the durbar hall, when questions of State were under deliberation, Achayya's place was at Mangammal's right hand. Splendid and supreme he stood there, as wise in council as he was brave in war. But his heart was black, black in its depths as dark Erebus. And now the time had come when the guilty pair should pay the penalty of this long, ill-considered sin. The young king, Mangammal's grandson, to whom she might be said to have given his life, had come of age ; but long had the Queen-Regent tasted the sweets of power and longer still did she desire to taste them : so, relying on the support of Achayya, she refused to make way for the young king. Her conduct, however, had much scandalised the chiefs and nobles of the State, so that a strong party was formed against her. She was seized and imprisoned in the building which is still used as a jail. Dissatisfied with even this punishment, her enemies resolved upon her death, and it was brought about with a

refinement of cruelty worthy of that semi-barbarous age. Her tortures were Tantalus-like in their horrors. Death by slow starvation was her fate. Periodically food was placed near her prison bars, but at such a distance that she could see and smell, but could neither touch nor taste it. Thus painfully died Queen Mangammal, whose charities, endowments and monuments still survive. Achayya was strangled. To the west of the Golden Lily Tank at Madura, in the little temple built by Mangammal, is to be seen the statue of a young man. It is that of Achayya. On the ceiling of that temple there are depicted portraits of a man and a woman. They are those of the queen and her lover. In her portrait the queen is shown wearing jewels and finery, which were unbecoming her status as a Hindu widow.

There is still extant a legend throwing a strong light on the amiable and generous side of Mangammal's character. Contemporary with her was a Raja of Mysore, who went by the name of Chick Deo Raz. He was of so mean and sordid a turn of mind that it is said of him that he would never break his fast in the morning till he had put safely away in his treasury the sum of two thousand pagodas. In this way he succeeded in accumulating much wealth, so much that he earned for himself the title of "The Lord of Nine Crores." Never by any chance did he perform any act of charity; and, when he died, to Naragam did he go, and there he lay in great agony. Some time afterwards, one of his subjects came there too, being carried off by mistake by one of Yama's messengers, and was therefore to be set free and sent back to the world of the living. Him the tortured Raja called to his side and adjured to take a message to his (the Raja's) successor and son. The spirit being agreeable, the Raja said:—"When I was ruler of Mysore I hoarded up wealth and performed no acts of charity; hence my wretched fate. Mangammal of Madura is now coming to this world of the dead, and, as her life abounded in charitable deeds, triumphal arches are being set up and all kinds of grand preparation made for her reception. In a place which I shall describe are concealed all my hoards. Go and tell my son to spend all these sums on works of charity, and by so doing he may yet rescue his father's soul from a place of torment." The Raja gave a description of the place, where the spirit forthwith delivered the message. At first the Raja's son treated it with scorn and incredulity: but immediately afterwards tidings came that Mangammal died at the very hour and on the very day indicated by the message. Feeling certain then that the story was not spurious, he began to act in accordance with the directions contained in the message.

ART. XI.—BALFOUR AND BELIEF.

(INDEPENDENT SECTION.)

THE noticeable utterances of Mr. Arthur Balfour in the debate on Church-lawlessness of the 11th of April contained a hint, perhaps too subtle for most of his hearers, but full of meaning for an attentive reader next day. Speaking, apparently, from a plane of inward consciousness, the Leader said a sad and sobering word. While the clergy were raising controversy about vestments and ceremonies, there was, he observed, a large and interesting class in the country, of people who took little part in public argument, but were engaged in examining the very foundations of belief. Persons of this kind, Mr. Balfour evidently thought, would be still further disturbed, and perhaps hopelessly alienated, by the spectacle of internal anarchy and chaos in the Church which undertook to meet their doubt with infallible oracles.

The remedy for this deplorable state of things is not to be found in the vaunted specifics of "Unity" and "Earnestness." *Unity of spirit*—asked for in the Prayer-book—is not what is meant by the spiritual practitioners each of whom advertises his own nostrum: *Unity of dogma* is not really to be had. No Church can be absolutely right, because absolute truth is beyond the ken of man.

Yet there is less difference between complete freedom of opinion and complete compliance with conventional religion than a superficial observation might imagine; and there appears, every now and then amid the prosaic aspects of daily life, a glimpse of fundamental agreement. The believer betrays a hint of doubting, while many a doubter is found more or less willing to bow down in the House of Rimmon. The explanation may be found in the principle put forth in various forms by the ancient Hindi sages; by Plato, and, in later days, by Kant and Hegel, Hamilton and Herbert Spencer. If that which is absolute and certain is beyond the reach of human faculty, then our knowledge must always be conditional and relative; the actual truth being first modified by refraction in each individual temperament, and then further altered by common convention and actual consultation in every particular place and time.

If this be a universal law, it must apply to dogma no less than to what we treat as fact. The transcendent ideas at the expression of which Theology has always aimed, are, therefore, unlikely to be conceived or expressed alike in all conditions of Society: knowledge of them, like all other knowledge,

must be "relative ;" for the human mind is not only incapable of giving it indisputable statement, but, by its very nature, inadequate to its full apprehension. If the attributes of various items of the Solar System are never understood or expressed alike in various lands and ages, how much less the connection between Man and his Maker, or the constitution and destinies of the Soul!

It may well be, then, that no School or Church is either wholly infallible or wholly wrong, supposing that all honestly argue and expound what they apprehend according to the light and ability that may be in each. And, should any individual even feel called to an independent analysis, he ought to consider whether its expression will be beneficial, or whether the trouble, risk, and scandal incidental to a declared isolation are not too penal to be incurred in a cause whose very premiss implies enquiry and indulgence. It seems, then, that we have here a prospect of compromise; a sort of *Eirenikon* between two apparently hostile forces: provided that each be directed in a perfectly honest and undogmatic spirit. The Churchman may, without shame, acknowledge that he cannot by understanding find out God; and that, such knowledge being too excellent for him, he cannot attain unto it. The Agnostic, for his part, ought to have no hesitation in seeing that he is precluded from positive negation by the nature of his position. Conscious of the doubtfulness of doubt and the certainty of error, he may well adopt an urbane and modest compliance with the current observances of his neighbours: even as we may imagine Cicero throwing a pinch of incense on the altar of Jove.

Some of our British "Broad Church" have felt this: and it is a needless ignoring of charity to tax them with being insincere or mercenary. How much, or how little, of the theology of his time, Sydney Smith—for instance—may have really assimilated, it may not be possible to determine; but we ought not to question his honesty, any more than we can deny his intelligence and mental strength. Perhaps he, too, felt that the then received dogmatic system was of human origin and no more than symbolic, a kind of theologic algebra—the attempt of fine minds in hours of aspiration, to translate the divine oracles into the language of mundane life; though with an unknown quantity. In this sense, it may be dimly conjectured that the conventional image of "The Father," as conceived by mediæval painters, expresses the Providence that animates the universe and makes for righteousness. So, too, the Redeemer of the Creeds may stand for a type of the blessings that wait on obedience, and of the victory of suffering. In no other way does it seem easy to account for Chil-

lingworth and Hales, or the later conformity of such clergymen as Jowett and Arthur Stanley. Belief is one of those matters as to which earnestness is not the chief consideration.*

Even the difficult question of Determinism is much helped by this clue. Pope adored a Deity who,

"Fixing Nature fast in fate,
Left free the human will."

The *thought* of the author was not always original : but, in his power of enunciation, he has, amongst English poets, no superior ; and his "universal prayer" is a treatise in a nutshell. If our faculties are equal only to phenomena, we cannot lay down the law for the absolute, which must be a law to itself. Thus, while the events of the world and its material facts may be bound in a chain of necessity, it may be fairly assumed that in the spiritual sphere—where there is neither space nor time—, Will must be unconditioned and therefore free. The freedom only extends to the choice between good and evil ; and it is a purely *moral* factor.†

As to the efficacy of prayer, our principle of Relativity is equally useful. One may be tempted to think that asking for Rain or Fair weather is like an attempt to propitiate the Law of gravitation. Nevertheless, when the Soul is sad, to cast one's care upon God, to accept humbly the fiat of the great Disposer, to cultivate a cheerful, unegotistic temper, is a duty that is also a pleasure, nowise impaired by giving it the familiar old name of Prayer. The fancies and claims of priests or theologians have no effect on such a state of mind.

H. G. K.

* Matthew Arnold's objection to the Gospel according to Carlyle may be remembered here.

† See Wallace's *Kant*, p. 213.

ART. XII.—THE DOCTRINES OF JAINISM.

REPLY TO THE EDITOR'S NOTE.

IN this note there seems to be some complaint about obscurities. Of course I cannot, at present, give any detailed account of the subject, and the obscurities can be best removed by putting questions.

In one place, amongst his salient features, the Editor remarks that the writer has evaded the crucial question of the way in which matter acts upon mind, or soul. Perhaps he deduces this from the eighth paragraph of my article ; but there I did not mean to explain the way in which matter acts upon soul ; but, by giving a common and simple example of wine, my object was only to refute the theory of those who deny the action of matter upon soul, and to show that it does act upon soul. I have said something about this in my description of Karamas, because Draba Karamas are nothing but a combination of the atoms of matter. Of course I am not, at present, in a position to undertake a full treatment of the subject, but I will add some compendious remarks to what I have already said.

The nature of matter is that it is attracted towards, and brings in bondage, a soul infected by Rag Dwaish and Moh ; and it is also the nature of matter that it produces Rag Dwaish and Moh in a soul which is in bondage with it. Now if it be asked why matter does so, and since when it has begun to do so, the answer is that it is the nature of matter and that it does so from eternity. From eternity, soul and matter are intermingled with each other. Matter produces Rag Dwaish and Moh in soul, which, having become the cause of good and bad actions, attract new matter towards soul. It is matter which, according to its past merit and demerit, causes pleasures and pains to soul. Matter, having given pleasures and pains to soul, becomes detached from it ; and as, in enjoying pleasures and in suffering pains, Rag Dwaish and Moh are produced in soul, new matter is attracted towards it. This sequence of Draba Karamas (matter) and Bhava Karamas (passions) has continued from eternity and will continue till soul has purged itself of the latter. But this cannot be accomplished all at once. Rag Dwaish and Moh are overcome by degrees ; soul progresses gradually. First it abandons bad feelings and bad actions, and when it has succeeded in doing this, it begins to detach itself from good feelings and good actions also. When soul succeeds in clarifying itself from Rag Dwaish and Moh, new matter ceases to be attracted towards it, and the old matter, having

produced its result, which, owing to the destruction of Rag Dwaish and Moh, no longer influences soul, becomes detached, and the soul goes unto Nirvana. Again, among his questions, the Editor asks: "How can each of two or more souls be all-powerful?" I do not see the inconsistency; but the answer to this question depends on the sense in which he takes the word all-powerful. Perhaps by an All-powerful soul he means a soul having power over all others, a soul having power to create others. But that is not the meaning which Jainism gives to the word. According to Jainism an All-powerful souls means a soul which has power to its full extent; that is, whose power is in no way diminished or impaired. Now the power of soul is its real *suavabhava* (distinguishing attribute) which is to know all things. Hence the soul in which this power has its full play is all powerful. As knowledge is power, so all knowledge is all-power. In Jainism an All-powerful Being does not mean a Being who can overcome all other beings, or who can create and destroy all other beings, or who can cause furious storm, or who can bring the world into existence out of nothing, or out of Himself. This, of course, is the worldly sense of the word; but in reality such power shows the very weakness of that Being. An All-powerful Being is that Being whose *suavabhava* is at its pure and full display and who is influenced by no other being. Now it is not necessary that such an all-powerful soul should be one only; but in this sense each of two or more souls can be all-powerful. (In the sense in which the writer uses the expression "all-powerful" this is of course true.—ED., C. R.) Besides this, there is another sense in which an emancipated soul is All-powerful. A soul becomes disentangled from the bondage of Karmas by gradually abandoning Rag Dwaish and Moh. No task is more difficult than subduing one's own passions. He who conquers himself is the strongest. No soul is so powerful as one that has got victory over its passions, therefore an All-powerful soul means a soul which has overcome such an awful enemy as the passions, and it is not necessary that such a soul should be one only, because it is only a condition or position into which every soul, if it chooses and tries to do so, can enter. The condition of God, or Godhood, is not for one soul only; but infinite souls have placed themselves, and every soul can place itself, in that condition.

Further on,* the Editor points out an inconsistency between my two statements in the tenth paragraph. There he undoubtedly misunderstands me. By the second statement I did not mean that Jainism teaches the existence of God as one Personal Creator, apart from the emancipated souls; but my object was to repudiate this very doctrine. There are religions

ists who hold that before Srishti (creation) soul was pure, and that it was when God had put it into the world, that it became impure. Now from this it is to be reasonably inferred that it is God who has rendered soul impure. But if He had Himself rendered soul impure, what necessity had He to send down the Revelations. A person who has himself made a thing impure, and then lays down rules for its purity, can hardly be called wise. If it be said here that God did so in order to ascertain the power of each individual soul, that is, to see which of them could attain purity, then this would denote a defect in his knowledge. If such were the case, He could not be All-knowing. Thus, to believe that soul has been put into the worldly condition by God, is to admit that He has made soul impure, because no soul is perfectly pure in the world. And when He has made soul impure, it is meaningless for Him to send Revelations, because that will stamp Him as defective in wisdom and knowledge. Hence Jainism does not hold that soul has been rendered impure, or in other words, put into the world, by God at some particular time, but that, owing to the effects of matter, it is in this worldly condition from eternity. Thus it will be seen that what I said in the tenth paragraph of my article, was in support of this, and in repudiation of the doctrine that God had put soul into the world, or, in other words, made it impure, at some particular time.

In addition to the above, it must be borne in mind that it is not that God is, in Jain phraseology, not spoken of as one. In Jainism, as I have already said in the article itself, prominence is given, not to the individuality, but to the condition or position, and that, as regards position or condition, God is one.

Again, when I spoke of God's desire that souls may be pure and obtain salvation, I was not propounding any doctrine of Jainism, but I was only hinting at the belief of some other religionists. Those who believe that God creates and destroys the world; gives rewards, and inflicts punishments, and composes scripture for the good of soul, seem to attribute desire to Him, because such acts cannot be done without desire. Of course, there is an inconsistency between desire and omnipotence. One who has desires, cannot be omnipotent. Jainism does not hold that God has desires, but that He is Betrag.

The last question is about the relation between the individual Paramatmas, on the one hand, and on the other, between those Paramatmas and the Jivas in the worldly condition. I do not exactly understand the sense in which the word "relation" is used. The individual Paramatmas have, in fact, no such relation as we have among ourselves. They do not

owe any duty to, or have any desire, sympathy, enmity, etc., towards one another. If they can be said to have any relation, it is this, that they are in one and the same condition, namely Godhood. Again, as regards the relation between the individual Paramatmas and the Jivas in the worldly condition, it is only this, that both of them are Jivas (souls), that is, they are of the same genus. It is not that the individual Paramatmas have any desire, good or bad, towards the worldly Jivas. The Editor seems to be under the impression that it is the doctrine of Jainism that God desires the emancipation of worldly Jivas ; but that was not my meaning ; I was only hinting at the belief of Kurta-badeer. According to Jainism ; God has neither any desire, nor does he act, because that will make Him just like a worldly soul.

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NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

IT is not to be wondered at that the writer shrinks from all attempt to explain the way in which non-soul acts upon soul. This is the rock upon which every dualistic system necessarily splits ; and Jainism is, from its very nature, obviously debarred from resorting to any such easy theory on the subject as the Cartesian doctrine of "Occasional Causes," or the cognate theory of Pre-established Harmony of Leibnitz.

THE QUARTER.

WITH the exception of the crisis in the Transvaal ; the Dreyfus trial ; the proceedings of the Peace Conference ; the outbreak of the plague in South Western Europe, and the untimely death of the Czarewitch, the period under review, though far from barren of incident, has been comparatively unproductive of striking events of general importance.

The difficulty in the Transvaal has, during the last few weeks, assumed a complexion which makes a peaceful settlement of the matters in dispute almost hopeless. In response to the representations of Her Majesty's Government, the Volksraad has passed a new franchise law which, though it ostensibly makes certain concessions to the Uitlanders, is regarded by them as altogether insufficient and to a great extent illusory. President Krüger, however, has declared that it represents the maximum which his Government will yield under present conditions, and has declined a proposal of Mr. Chamberlain for a Joint Commission of enquiry into its effect. At the same time he has put forward a much more liberal scheme which the British Government would probably be willing to accept if it were unconditional, but which his Government is prepared to grant only on conditions that would amount to a surrender of the British suzerainty over the South African Republic. To these conditions, or anything like them, Her Majesty's Government are resolutely determined not to consent, and their public declarations, coupled with the preparations they are making, leave no room for doubt that, failing the early submission of much more satisfactory proposals by President Krüger, their next step will be to present him with an ultimatum the rejection of which will be the signal for a declaration of war.

President Krüger is acute enough to see that the admission of the Uitlanders to equal rights of citizenship would mean ultimately the extinction of the supremacy of the Boers in the Republic. But he is not statesman enough to recognise the fact that the course of events has rendered that consummation practically inevitable, and that the choice for his government lies between accepting it as the gradual result of a peaceful evolution, and having it imposed on them by force, as the penalty of refusing to grant the claims of the Uitlanders.

In connexion with the question of the right of the British Government, in view of the terms of the Convention, to interfere in what is admittedly a matter of internal administration,

Lord Selborne, in the course of a speech in the debate on South African affairs in the House of Lords, has made an important statement, to the effect that, previous to the granting of the Convention, President Krüger had given explicit assurances that he would make no difference between Boers and Uitlanders. This, of course, would be conclusive. But it is noteworthy that the statement, which is repeated in the Queen's speech, should have been made, at this late stage of the controversy, for the first time, and it would be interesting to know exactly what form the alleged assurances assumed.

The outcome of the Peace Conference has been very much what was foreshadowed in these pages months ago. The proposal for a limitation of armaments was thrown overboard at the outset; but the majority of the Powers represented have signed, and it is expected that all of them will eventually sign, an important Convention for the encouragement of arbitration as a means of settling international disputes; fifteen of them have signed Conventions concerning the laws and customs of war on land, and adapting the principles of the Geneva Convention to naval warfare, the abstainers in both cases being Germany, Austria-Hungary, China, Great Britain, Italy, Portugal, Japan, Luxembourg, Servia, Switzerland and Turkey. Seventeen States have signed a declaration interdicting the throwing of projectiles from balloons, the abstainers being the same, with the omission of Portugal and Turkey; sixteen have signed a declaration prohibiting the use of projectiles containing asphyxiating gas, the abstainers being the same as in the case last mentioned, with the addition of the United States; and the same States, with the omission of Portugal, have signed a declaration prohibiting the use of expanding bullets and specially aimed against the Dum-Dum bullet.

The text of the Convention on arbitration is prefaced by a statement that the signatory Powers firmly desire to assist in the maintenance of the general peace; that they recognise the solidarity which unites the society of civilised nations; that they desire to extend the reign of law and strengthen the sentiment of international justice, and that they are convinced that the permanent institution of an arbitral jurisdiction, accessible to all, can effectively contribute to this result.

The text of the Convention itself contains elaborate provision for the employment of the good offices or mediation of friendly Powers, in the case of grave disagreement or conflict, before appealing to arms; for international arbitration, by voluntary agreement of the disputants, including the establishment of a permanent Court of arbitration, accessible to any Power, though not a signatory of the Convention, and for settling the procedure to be followed in cases of arbitration.

The most important result of the Conference is felt on all hands to be the agreement arrived at for the establishment of a permanent Court of arbitration. The extent to which the Powers will have recourse to it will naturally depend upon the degree of confidence it inspires ; and this is a point which experience, more or less prolonged, of its work can alone determine. In the first instance, at all events it is not to be expected that any but minor subjects of international dispute will be referred to it. But it is at least conceivable that its decisions may command such respect that in the course of time all but the most important will be brought before it.

The fresh trial of Dreyfus, which began at Rennes on the 7th August, has been the occasion of a dastardly attempt to assassinate M. Labori, the prisoner's Counsel, who, however, has fortunately recovered from the wound inflicted on him by his assailant. The trial is being watched with equanimity by the country at large ; but the attitude of the army is the ground of justifiable anxiety. The Government, however, is acting, in the meantime, with commendable firmness and vigour, as is shown by its action in depriving General Negrier of his office of Inspector of the Army and his seat on the Supreme Council of War ; as well as by its arrests of the leaders of various so-called Nationalist Leagues alleged to be engaged in a conspiracy, to overthrow the Republic.

A serious anarchist riot occurred in Paris on the 20th August, under circumstances the precise nature of which has not transpired. A body of the rioters sacked the Church of St. Josephus, where they were attacked by the Republican Guards, who, after a severe fight, succeeded in dislodging them. The mob in the streets seem to have joined in the struggle, which lasted for three hours, and were not finally dispersed till they were charged by Cavalry, and more than three hundred of their number killed or wounded. A hundred and fifty arrests were made, and the City has since been undisturbed.

The appearance of Plague on the coasts of the Iberian Peninsula at places so widely separated as Oporto and Barcelona is an event the significance of which cannot as yet be estimated, but which is pregnant with tremendous possibilities. If, as is stated, the outbreak at Oporto, where the disease first appeared, was concealed for two months, and if, as is probably the case, this implies that effective steps were not taken to prevent the spread of infection, the prospect is a serious one.

In connexion with the Far East, the most important events of the quarter are the spontaneous announcement of Russia that Talienwan will be opened to the trade of all nations ;

the application made by Italy to the Chinese Tsung-li-Yamen for a concession to an Italian Syndicate for the construction of a railway from a point on the Chekiang Coast to the Payang Lake, and the despatch of a Chinese embassy to Japan.

The treatise under which the last named country is opened to foreigners of all nations and the Consular jurisdictions are abolished, came into force during the period under review.

Parliament was prorogued on the 9th August after an unusually quiet, but far from wasted, Session. The following are the essential parts of the speech from the Throne, which was read by the Lord Chancellor:—

“The Conference summoned by the Emperor of Russia to consider measures for promoting the maintenance of peace has completed its sittings. Although the result of its deliberations has not fully corresponded with the lofty aims which it was summoned to accomplish, it has met with a considerable measure of success. The institution of a permanent Tribunal of Arbitration cannot fail to diminish the frequency of war, while the extension of the Geneva Convention will mitigate its horrors.

“I have concluded a Convention with the President of the French Republic, by which the spheres of influence of the two Powers over a large portion of Northern Africa have been determined. Such an Agreement had become necessary, especially in respect to the Valley of the Nile, in consequence of the successful operations of the Anglo-Egyptian Army during last autumn. I have concluded an Agreement with the Emperor of Russia for regulating the conditions under which either Government will encourage the development of railway enterprise by its own subjects in China.

“I have received a Petition from a considerable number of my subjects residing in the South African Republic praying for my assistance to obtain the removal of grievances and disabilities of which they complain. The position of my subjects in the South African Republic is inconsistent with the promises of equal treatment on which my grant of internal independence to that Republic was founded, and the unrest caused thereby is a constant source of danger to the peace and prosperity of my dominions in South Africa. Negotiations on this subject with the Government of the South African Republic have been entered into and are still proceeding.

• “From my Indian Empire I have continued to receive satisfactory reports of the rapid recovery of agriculture and trade from the depression caused by the late famine; but during the last few weeks the rainfall has been insufficient over a portion of Western and Central India, and fears are entertained as to the prospects of the harvests in those regions. My

officers are carefully watching the situation and timely precautions to meet any scarcity, should it occur, will be adopted. I regret to add that the plague, though still confined to the areas affected last winter, shows no sign of abatement.

"The formal inclusion within my Empire of the territories occupied by the Royal Niger Company will facilitate the good administration of that region and the effective defence of its frontier.

"I have had great satisfaction in giving my assent to a Bill for completing the organization of Municipal Government in London. I do not doubt that the inhabitants of the various portions of this Metropolis will derive from it the benefits which similar institutions have conferred upon other cities and towns in this country.

"I have also gladly sanctioned Bills for the simplification of private legislation in Scotland, for the encouragement of agricultural and technical education in Ireland, for the better distribution of the supply of water in the Metropolis, for the removal of an injustice in regard to the incidence of rates under which the benefited owners of tithe rent-charge have too long suffered, and for securing the purity of certain articles of food and drugs.

"I trust that the Bill which you have passed for consolidating the Educational Departments, and extending their powers, will tend to the improvement and completion of our educational system.

"The measures you have passed for facilitating the acquisition of the ownership of small houses by those who occupy them will be of considerable advantage to the working classes in many parts of the country."

Lord George Hamilton made the annual statement regarding the financial affairs of India on the penultimate day of the session, the most important features in his speech on the occasion being his advocacy of a vigorous prosecution of reproductive public works, and especially of encouraging private railway enterprise, and his remarks regarding the Report of the Currency Commission. On the latter subject, he stated it as his opinion that the most valuable portion of the report was that in which the committee declared that the establishment of a gold standard in India would serve the interests of the Indian people as much as those of the Indian Government. Those, he argued, who approved of a depreciating currency were really supporting a system that encouraged sweating. The establishment of a gold standard would be one of the most effective instruments by which to improve the industrial condition of the lowest paid of the wage-earners in India. The Government were ready to forego for the present a policy

of borrowing for the acquisition and accumulation of gold, but they intended to push on the currency changes proposed by the committee through the procedure which they suggested. To accelerate convertibility it would probably be desirable to increase the banking facilities of India and to establish a great bank on the lines of the Bank of England. Another measure which should be taken was the purchase by the Indian Government of the gold produced in Southern India.

An amendment moved by Mr. Caldwell and seconded by Sir William Wedderburn, to the effect that under our existing system the superintending authority of Parliament over Indian affairs was not exercised effectively; that the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the Estimates; that the debate on the Indian Budget should take place earlier in the Session; and that the India accounts should be referred every year to a Select Committee with instructions to report on any special features deserving the attention of Parliament, was negatived on a division by 95 votes to 36.

After a debate of some length in the course of which Sir Henry Fowler congratulated him on the satisfactory character of his financial statement, Lord George Hamilton replied on the various questions raised, and concluded his speech by a somewhat violent attack on Sir William Wedderburn, whom he charged with endeavouring to excite ill-feeling against the Indian Government.

As far as India is concerned, the submission of the Report just mentioned, or rather its acceptance by the Indian Government, is the most noteworthy event of the Quarter. The Committee recommend, briefly, the adoption of a gold standard, which the Government shall undertake to make effective, at a ratio of fifteen rupees to the pound sterling, together with the establishment of a gold currency. The means recommended by them for the former purpose are the continued closure of the Mints to the coinage of silver for the public, the Government undertaking, as at present, to give rupees in exchange for gold at the rate of one rupee for 16*½*, and to coin fresh rupees in the event of the gold in the currency becoming redundant, and the accumulation of a gold reserve to be made freely available for the purpose of foreign remittance whenever exchange falls below the fixed ratio, in such ways and under such conditions as the Government may think fit. For the purpose of establishing a gold currency they recommend that the Government should undertake to coin gold sovereigns and half sovereigns for the public free of charge, the Indian being treated, in respect of such coinage as branches of the Imperial Mint and that sovereigns (and half-sovereigns), whether of English, Australian or Indian

wintage, should be declared legal tender at the rate of a sovereign for fifteen rupees ; rupees, at the same time, remaining, at least for the present, legal tender for any amount.

As to the way in which the gold reserve should be made available for the purposes of foreign remittance when exchange falls below specie point, the only specific suggestion they offer is that, under such conditions, the Government might despatch gold to the Secretary of State in London, so as to enable him to reduce his drawings on them to a corresponding extent.

The chief virtue of the Report, or rather of the acceptance by the Indian Government of the recommendations contained in it, lies, first, in the fact that it puts a termination to all controversy or doubt as to the main features of the Currency policy of the Government ; and, secondly, in the implied assurance that the Government is resolved to maintain the standard, coupled with the fact that it is within its power to do this, if it chooses, under all ordinary conditions.

That the specific measures recommended by the Committee would be wholly insufficient for the purpose, under unfavourable conditions of a kind which recent experience shows to be only too probable, is obvious. For though the free provision of gold by the Government in exchange for rupees at the fixed ratio for the purposes of foreign remittance would probably suffice to maintain the ratio under any conditions that need be considered, the Government gold reserve can be applied in this way only as long as it lasts.

As to the establishment of a gold Currency, it is difficult to understand how a body composed as the Currency Committee was, could have lent their sanction to the notion that, while gold was under-rated relatively to the rupee, and the latter coin remained legal tender, the end in view could be accomplished by declaring sovereigns also legal tender and undertaking to coin them for the public. Gold may, or may not, be coin into sovereigns for the public under such conditions—probably it will not—; but, should it be coined, it certainly will not remain in circulation.

As far, it may be added, as the maintenance of the ratio is concerned, the fewer the sovereigns coined for the public, the better.

Among a series of important administrative matters that have recently occupied the attention of the Government of India is that of the system of defence to be adopted on the North-West frontier between Chitral and Baluchistan, a revised plan for which has been submitted to the Secretary of State and received his sanction during the Quarter. The object of the new scheme is, as far as possible, to minimise the expense, as well as the deduction from the military strength

of the country, caused by the locking up of large numbers of the regular army in advanced fortified positions in tribal country at a distance from their base. For this purpose it is intended to withdraw or reduce such garrisons in most cases, at the same time enlisting the tribes in the defence of their own country in the form of a militia, and providing adequate support for positions the garrisons of which are withdrawn, or materially reduced, by the maintenance of camps or moveable columns at neighbouring points within or upon the administrative frontier of India, and linking them together wherever practicable by railways.

These changes will admit of the abandonment of various schemes for the construction of costly fortifications, and, when in full working, will, it is estimated, save the country an annual expenditure of some fourteen lakhs.

Other matters in which important reforms have been set on foot, or are under consideration by the Government of India, are the working of the Secretariat system and the reduction of the bulk of the administrative reports at present required from the heads of the various Departments.

A speech of great importance was delivered by the Viceroy at the recent meeting of the Railway Conference, at Simla. After criticising the constitution of the Conference, and the mode of procedure hitherto adopted by it, and expressing a doubt whether it realised the maximum possible advantage, or corresponded either in its character or in its results, with the intention of those who originally suggested it, His Excellency went on to say :—" To apply to it the test of a wider examination in which general considerations of policy shall play a part, and to recommend to the Government of India a systematic, and, so far as possible, a scientific programme, I have resumed the Conference this year, in order that I may have a personal experience of the advantages or faults of the system before passing a final judgment upon it, and because I propose, when our sittings are concluded, to take the public into our confidence to a greater degree than has previously been the case.

" I propose to recommend to the Government of India that the conclusions at which we arrive with reference to various lines shall be formulated in an easily intelligible shape, and be published. In this way the promoters will learn how their schemes stand in the estimation of the Government, instead of having to be content, as now, with the official intimation of success or the private inference of failure, while the public will gain an idea both of the magnitude and complexity of the problem which we are called upon to discuss, and of the general principles upon which we attempt to decide it. There

representing trade, and 15 appointed by the Local Govern.., that the General Committee should consist of 12 members of whom 4 should be appointed by the Government, and 8 elected by the entire Corporation, on such plan as "will secure to that proportion of the General Committee which is to be elected by the entire Corporation a strictly fair and proportionate representation of the constituent elements of the electoral body, and that rules should be laid down for the appointment of special committees and sub-committee which will secure their being, as far as possible, truly representative in respect of their constituent elements of the Corporation or General Committee appointing them." The Bill has accordingly been again referred to a Select Committee by whom it has been revised, ostensibly in accordance with these recommendations. The provision of section 8 of the re-Amended Bill which requires the General Committee to consist of 12 members, of whom 4 are to be appointed by the Government, 4 elected by the Ward Commissioners and 4 elected by the 25 remaining Commissioners, including those nominated by the Government, would appear to be altogether incompatible with either the letter or spirit of the second recommendation. In the meantime an incident of a somewhat sensational character has occurred in connexion with the revision of the Municipal Constitution. The Government of India having referred in their letter to the fact of charges of corruption having been made against certain of the elected Commissioners by the late Lieutenant-Governor, the Corporation, at a Special Meeting held to consider the matter by an overwhelming majority, passed a resolution that the Bengal Government should be respectfully asked to furnish the Corporation with the information on which the charge was based. The Government having declined to comply with this request, on the ground that the papers were confidential, twenty-nine of the elected Commissioners have given in their resignations.

Among noteworthy events of the period under review have been the occurrence of serious faction riots between Shanars and Maravars in the Tinnevely and Madura districts of the Madras Presidency and adjacent parts of Travancore, in the course of which 150 villages are said have been attacked, several thousand houses burnt, and many persons killed or injured, and the transfer in perpetuity to the Government of India of the Nushki district for an annual rent of Rs. 9,000.

Among the Bills introduced in the Supreme Legislative Council during the Quarter, the only one that calls for special notice here is the Press Telegraphic Messages Copyright Bill, by which it is proposed to extend protection for thirty-six hours from the time of first publication in India, or sixty hours from the time of receipt, whichever expires first, to foreign

less telegrams published as such by any newspaper. The prohibition against unauthorised publication of such messages extends not only to the messages themselves or their substance, but to any comment on or reference to the matter contained in them ; but it is provided that nothing in the Bill shall apply to any document published by, or under the authority of, the Government. Bills also for the incorporation of Scotch Kirk Sessions in India ; the conversion into British Indian currency of sums expressed in British Currency in the Army Act ; to rectify the drafting of the chapter of the Transfer of Property Act concerning actionable claims ; to make better Provision for the Registration of British ships in India ; to amend the Central Provinces Tenancy and Court of Wards Acts ; to restrict second appeals in the Punjab, and to amend the Presidency Banks Act, have been introduced ; while among measures passed into law are a Bill to amend the Indian Registration Act ; a Bill to amend the Land Improvement by Acts Act, and the Army Currency Bill above mentioned.

An Business in the Bengal Legislative Council has been connected to the proceedings in connexion with the revision of the Calcutta Municipal Bill already mentioned, and the introduction of a Bill to repeal the Civil Court Amins Act of 1856.

In connexion with the progress of the Plague we have to record a serious recrudescence of the disease in Poona, where the mortality for some weeks past has far exceeded that of the last year, and in other parts of the Bombay Presidency, while in Bombay itself the number of deaths from the disease shows a gratifying diminution as compared with the corresponding period of any year since its first appearance. In Calcutta the disease still lingers, and the number of cases has lately reached eight or ten a day, but it shows no tendency in spread to other parts of Bengal, and has apparently almost died out in Madras and Mysore.

The current monsoon season has been marked by prolonged drought in Southern, Central and Western India and in the same North-West, while in Central and East Bengal the rainfall has greatly exceeded the normal. During the past two days, however, there has been general rain over most of the affected districts, and agricultural prospects, though still poor in certain tracts, have much improved.

The obituary for the Quarter includes the names of the Grand Duke, George, Czarewitsch of Russia ; Professor Buntin ; Sir Edward Frankland ; Lieut.-Col. F. W. Nicolay ; Admiral Sir Wyndham Hornby ; Vice-Admiral Richard Bradshaw ; Major-General J. C. Hay, C.B. ; Lieut.-General D. Macdonald ; Bishop Tozer ; Sir William Flower ; Victor

**Cherbuliez ; Sir Alexander Armstrong ; Mr. Richard
General Sir Arthur T. Cotton, K.C.S.I. ; Major-General
Tyrrwhit ; Vice-Admiral R. D. White, C.B. ; General
Scott-Elliot ; the Rev. William Wright, and Brigadier
George Yeates Hunter**

September 8. 1899.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE HILSA.

To THE EDITOR, "CALCUTTA REVIEW."

IN I wrote the article on the Hilsa, in the January number of the *Calcutta Review*, I was not in possession of the facts regarding the number of this fish sent yearly from Goalundo to Calcutta, and had to content myself with an approximate estimate of it. I have now come to the exact figures for some years, which, I hope, will interest to your readers and the public at large. There is a local correspondence extant regarding the diminution of this fish in the year 1881 in the river Pudma, based on the local and Imperial Governments instituted a somewhat interesting enquiry into the probable reason of the falling

Hilsa fish traffic from 1st November 1878 to 31st October, on the Eastern Bengal Railway, was as follows :—

	Maunds.	Seers.			
we mor	144,113	12			
wst yer	130,748	0			
reale in	28,424	12			
owls a					
onding					
Calcutta					
as late			Rs.	As.	P.
in spreary	3,917	25	5,234	13	0
ed ofuary	12,745	6	14,228	9	0
The					
Brought	16,662	31	19,463	6	0

capture of this fish is in full swing during the rains in months of July, August and September, and again during winter, in the months of January, February and March, in the year. Thus virtually the despatch of the fish by rail in any month is confined to six months in the year. Taking the years of 1879 and 1880, we may reckon a lakh and a half in round numbers as the actual weight of this fish shipped to Calcutta by train. This would give 25,000 a month for the six months, or, in other words, thousand maunds daily. This means about seventy or thousand fish daily : certainly a large figure ! The charged would be something like Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 1,500

